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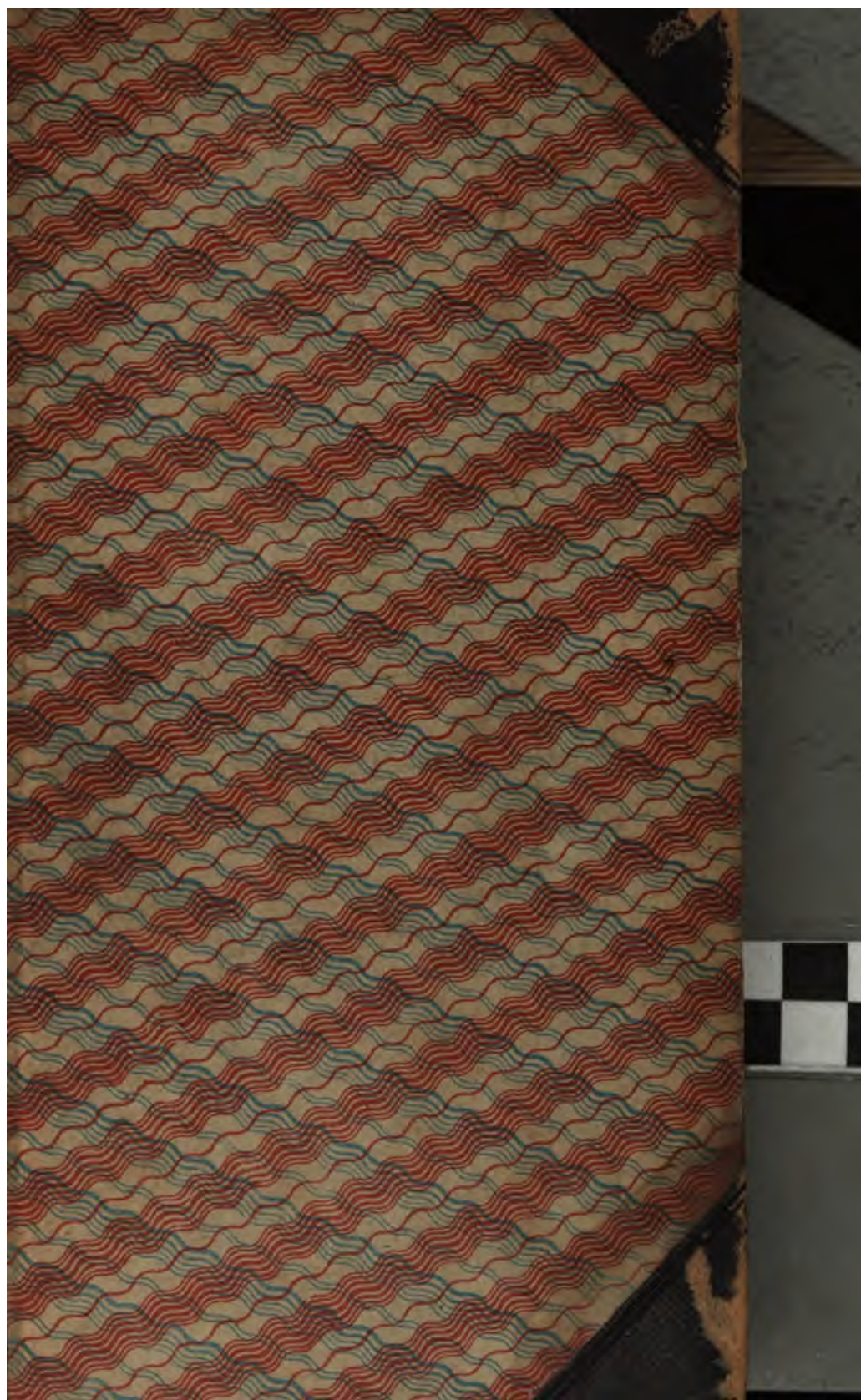
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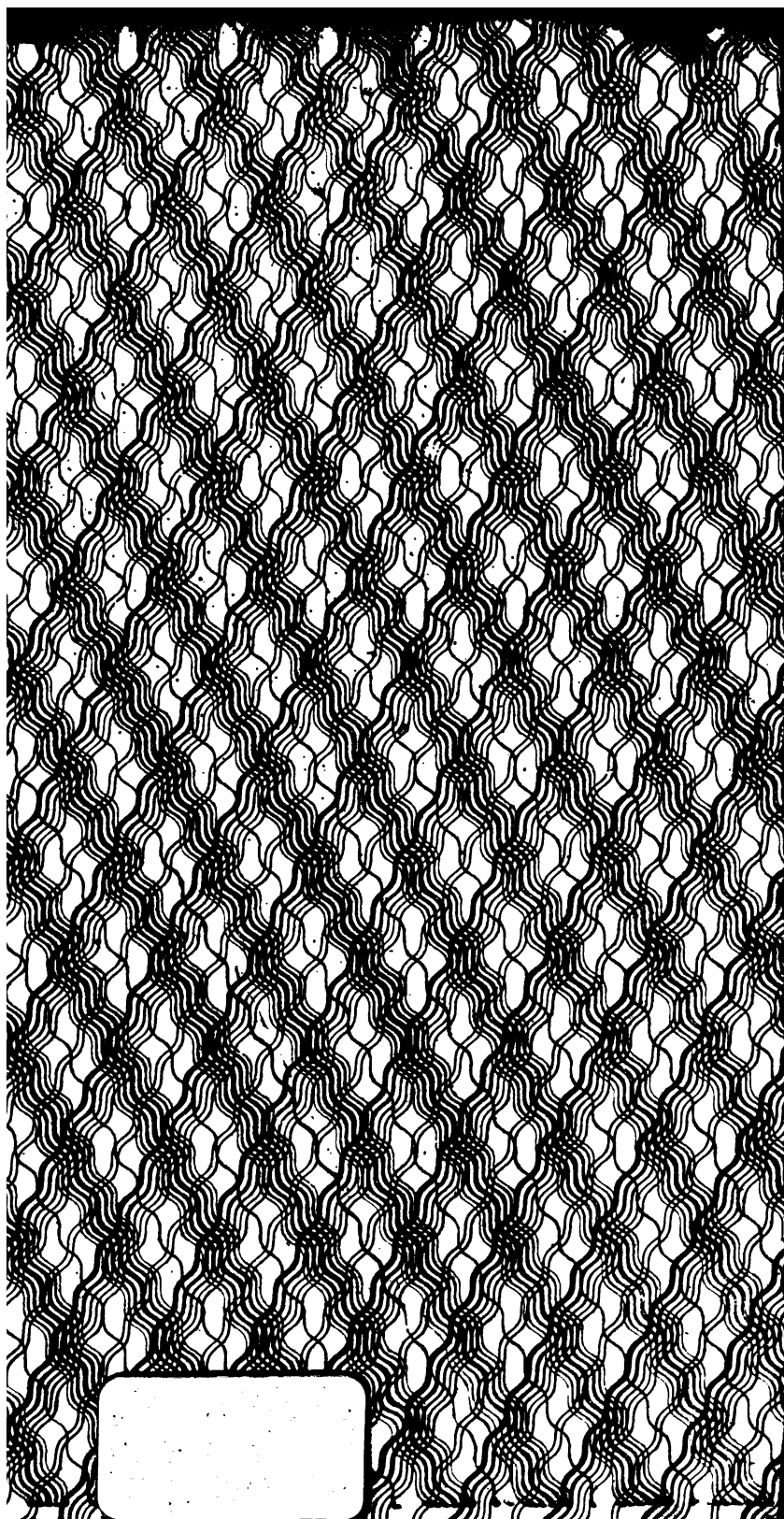
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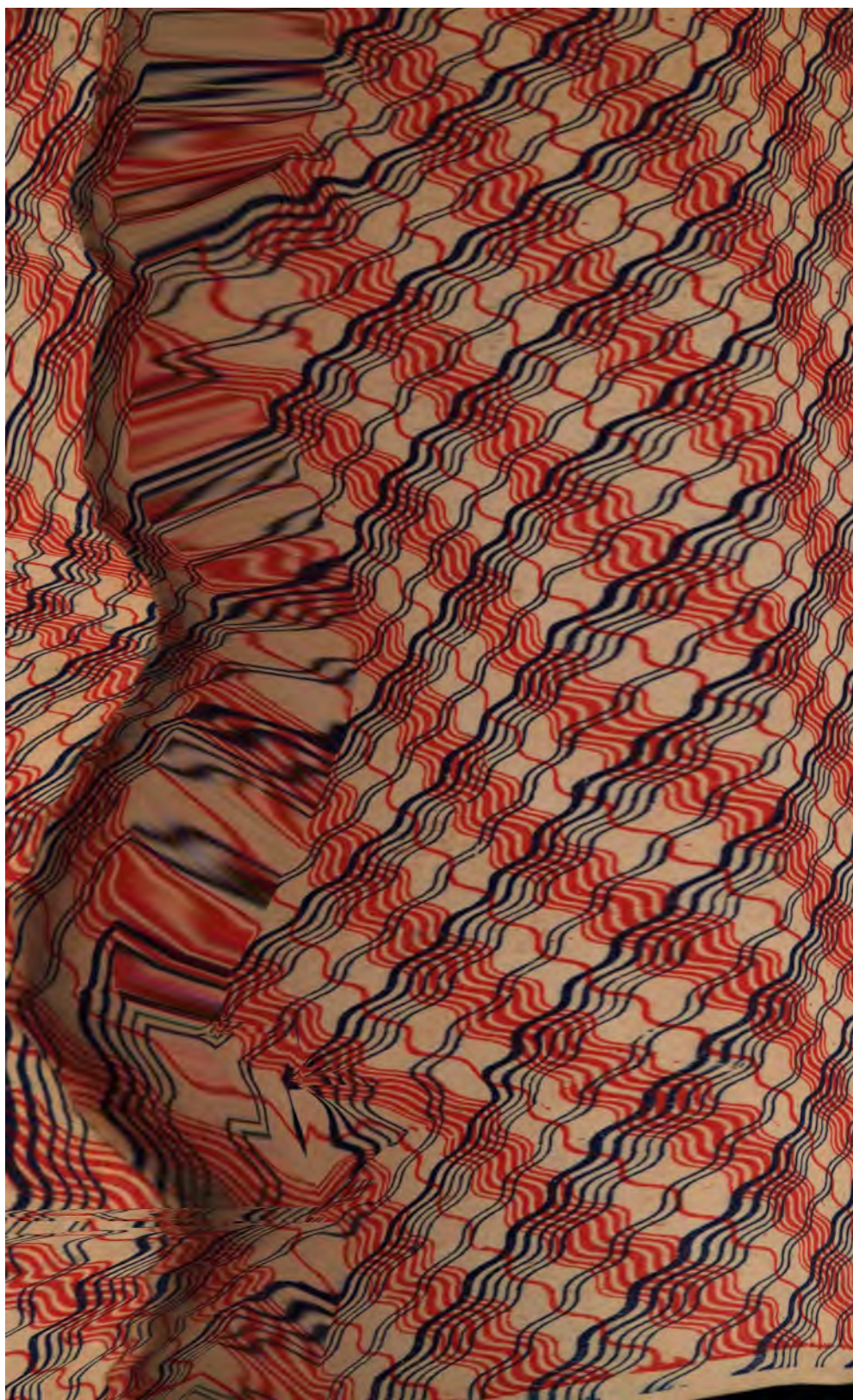
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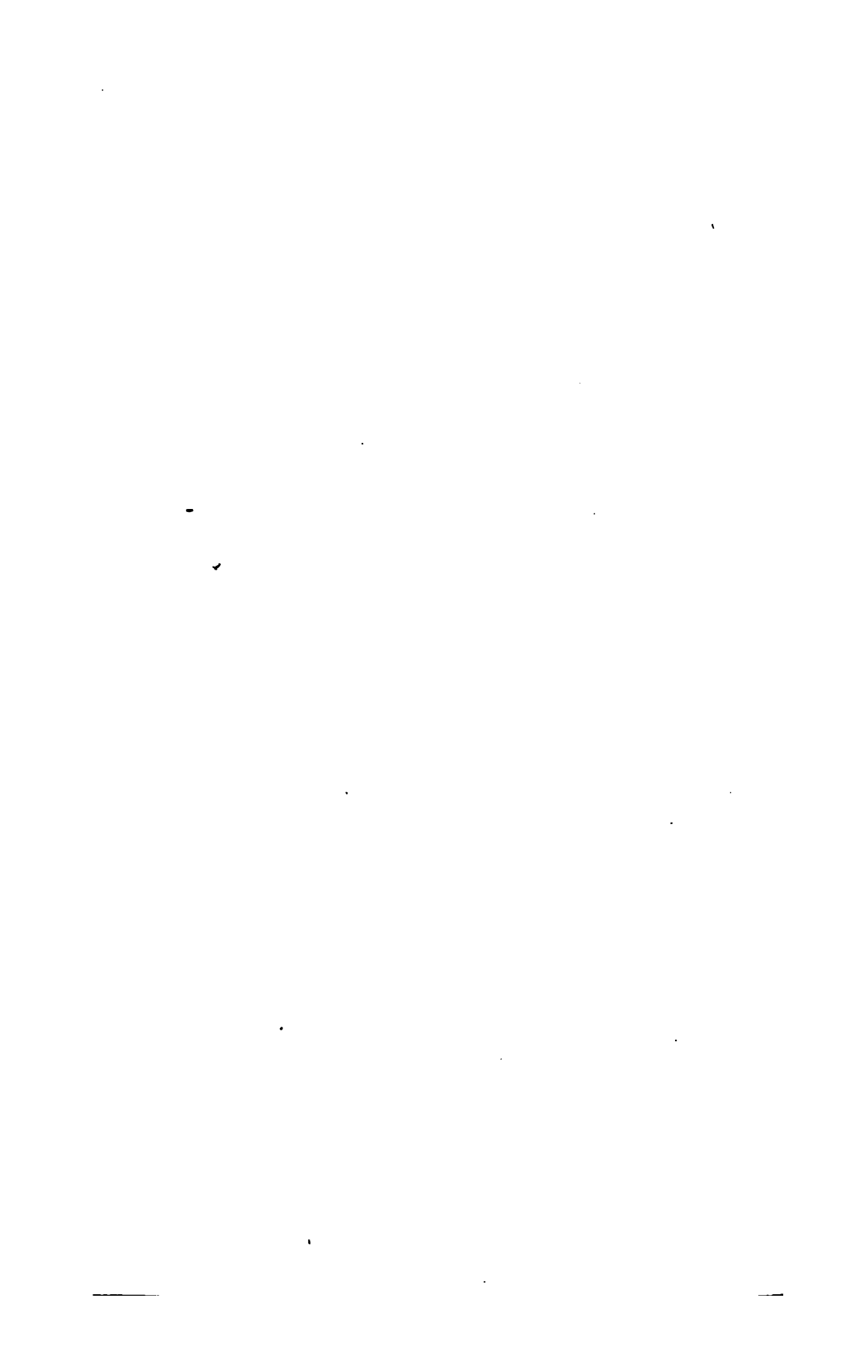








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HORÆ BRITANNICÆ;

OR,

STUDIES

IN

ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY:

CONTAINING

VARIOUS DISQUISITIONS

ON THE

NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES

OF

Great Britain.

By **JOHN HUGHES.**

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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PREFACE.

IN laying before the Public the present Volume on the Ancient History of Britain, and the Antiquities of the British Churches, the Author presumes upon the same candid reception of his Work which he has experienced on a former occasion.

As the Author's professed aim has been to afford a comprehensive and impartial, and at the same time a concise, account of the affairs of the Ancient British Christians, it is hoped, the candid and judicious will acknowledge that he has fulfilled his engagement, if not in the best manner possible, yet in a manner calculated to satisfy every just and reasonable expectation. With such a design, particular attention has been paid to the national history of the periods under consideration; as well during the Roman imperial government as since the conclusion of it, until the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon power.

The authorities principally depended upon are the most unexceptionable, as given by our greatest ecclesiastical antiquaries, **USHER**, **GOODWIN**, **LLOYD**, and **STILLINGFLEET**, illustrated by more recent

names ; among whom are to be mentioned, with high respect, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Turner, and the Bishop of St. David's.

The Author of these pages has used every help within his reach tending to elucidate the topics of his research ; and he has sedulously endeavoured to distinguish between truth and fiction : but, in so doing, it has been deemed by him requisite to guard against precipitancy in rejecting, as well as hastiness in receiving, the testimonies of Monkish writers, or national traditions. Scepticism is much the humour of the present age ; but, like other fashionable predilections, it founds its claim to distinction on a very loose foundation, and is often the endowment of little minds, who can hardly think any eye so clear-sighted as their own, or any head so sagacious as theirs. By immediately setting aside whatever, upon slight investigation, wears an aspect of incongruity, we may become so extremely delicate in our judgment, or rather so petulant in our decisions, as to reject real historical evidence, because it is not conveyed to us in the shape we think it ought to come before us. In tracing Ancient History, we must be content with the best evidence to be procured, and make the best use we can of ancient tradition and ancient fragments. To search with patience and deliberation, and to decide after due discrimination, are qualities rarely to be found, but necessary to be possessed by the student of history, if

he expect to attain to the real knowledge of ancient transactions.

The difficulties attendant upon every attempt like the present, must form the Author's apology with those Readers who may feel disappointed in not finding statements more lucid, respecting incidents of which fuller information would be desirable. Such as he has to give he presents to the Public; and, if not always silver and gold, he dares not impose gilded toys for sterling materials. He believes that he has not omitted any thing materially conducive to the elucidation of what was his main object, the history of religion among the Ancient Britons. If information of a more circumstantial kind, with respect to many celebrated characters and local incidents could be procured, the present Work would, doubtless, be rendered more highly interesting. It has been an unpleasant task to display the defective state of religious profession among our ancestors, and to discover the errors that prevailed among them, while genuine religion had so slight an influence upon a Christian community; but, in searching for truth, we must take things as we find them, and give the light and shade of genuine narrative.

That the Britons of Wales should form so prominent a figure in our Ancient History is not difficult to be accounted for, although the fact may appear strange to those who are accustomed to

judge of countries and their inhabitants from the tales of childhood, or the accounts of *gleaners* and *flying tourists*. Those fantastic notions are now hastening fast to decay, especially since the mountains of Cambria have yielded substantial proofs of their value to those, who have resorted from various quarters to prove the extent and durability of their treasures. Such kind of researches have proved advantageous, in a manner not to be expected from those, the result of which are now laid before the Public. A fortune may be consumed, but one will never be gained, by the labours of the antiquary.

In the study of Ancient History, we must look to the peoples and tribes, who still retain their tenacious attachment for ancient customs ; and the mind, capable of retracing the past, and looking forward to the future, takes a sublime pleasure in contemplating the scenes of departed glory, and the sites of ancient literary and theological institutions. The names of Verolam, Caerleon and Lancarvan, of Landaff and Bangor, of Glastonbury and St. David's, as well as Melros and Iona, excite our reverence, and call to our remembrance, that what they now are London and Oxford may possibly be, in centuries yet to come, and the magnificence of former ages restored to such places as are now sunk in obscurity. The names of Iltutus and Dubricius, of Johannes Erigena, of Asserius and Alcuin, were once as celebrated as the Warburtons, the Horsleys, and the Watsons of our days.

The history of Ancient Britain, and especially its Ecclesiastical history, has not been so generally studied until of late years. Mr. Whitaker was the first that attempted to make the study of our ancient history interesting to the general reader ; as well as to evince to the learned, that it is worthy of their investigations. By the labours of Mr. Owen and his coadjutors, the treasures of Cambrian literature have been thrown open ; and the illustrious patronage afforded to the Rev. Edward Davies has stamped a degree of credit on pursuits that previously were but little regarded. As to the present attempt, whatever may be generally thought of its execution, it has the honour of being the first thing of the kind, as a history of the British churches, treated in any thing of a popular shape, for the use of English readers in general. While historical truth has been the great object of attention, it is also the design of the present work to convey information in a form that may recommend it to those readers who would soon be wearied with mere dry investigations.

While the present age is so laudably occupied in zealous exertions to diffuse Christianity among the Heathen, and especially among the worshippers of Brahma and Budhu ; the history of the first introduction and consequent progress of our Divine Religion among our then heathen ancestors, cannot fail to prove highly interesting. The Gospel travelled of old from Asia to the west of Europe :

and, as from the isles of western Europe it has shone with bright beams on the transatlantic world; so now the sons of Britain are conveying it back to Asia, and in particular to continental and insular India. As the present is an age of discoveries, it has been no small gratification to find, among the natives of Malabar, an ancient Christian church: and it is no less curious to know, that those disciples of St. Thomas, the apostle, were visited by Britons in the age of Alfred.

The difficulties and obstacles that, in ancient times, obstructed the propagation of the Religion of Christ, in our now enlightened country, should teach us to sympathize with our missionaries abroad, while it may afford them encouragement to persevere in their glorious but arduous undertakings. The names of SWARTZ and of CAREY, of BUCHANAN and COKE, are to be numbered among the Apostles and Evangelists of primitive times.

The articles comprised in the Appendix will be found to contain information that will be new to many Readers; but of such a nature as not well to admit of insertion in the body of the work. The dissertation on the Welsh and Breton languages, and the short vocabulary annexed, will be of interest not only to our countrymen of the Principality, but to any scholar who wishes to ascertain, in some degree, the affinity between the languages of the Celtic stock: a few words of the Teutonic

stock are given to shew the difference between the radicals and terms of that class, and those of the former one. It were desirable to make some attempts to extend and improve in this way what Llhuyd has done in his *Archæologia Britannica*. With respect to the Armoric in particular, something should be done in order to open the way for a version of the Holy Scriptures into that language, and the general improvement of the Breton peasantry.

Frequent reference being made to the historical Triads, it was designed to give a translation of the whole, as published in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, with notes ; but the time being so nearly expired at which the Volume ought to appear before the Public, the design is deferred for the present. This, with some other matters for the illustration of ancient history, will probably be attempted, if circumstances prove favourable, and the necessity be not superseded by some abler hand, engaging to translate our old Cambro-British fragments. Much may be expected from the CAMBRIAN SOCIETY, recently instituted under the patronage of the Bishops of the four Dioceses, and the Nobility and Gentry of South and North Wales, for the promotion of ancient British literature.

In concluding this Preface, the Author begs to observe, that when he has, in any instance, failed to coincide altogether with the judgment of per-

sons of literary eminence, it has neither been from affectation of singularity, nor from want of knowing his duty of "behaving lowly and reverently to all his betters." He is willing to stand corrected by any gentleman who has further light to throw on subjects of British antiquity; and he shall be happy to acknowledge their emendations in a future impression of *HORÆ BRITANNICÆ*.

Whatever inadvertent slips or repetitions the judicious Reader may observe, the exercise of his candour is requested. It has been observed, in the Preface to the former Volume, that, with superior advantages, the whole might have appeared more worthy of public approbation.

The gentlemen who have sanctioned the present design, and in particular those of his native town and neighbourhood, are desired to accept of the expression of gratitude and esteem from the Author, who cannot forbear saying, that he considers the support of his countrymen as creditable to the work, as it is gratifying to his feelings. It is with similar pleasure he mentions the respect of his friends at Carmarthen; and his obligations are particularly due to his subscribers in Staffordshire, and at Liverpool.

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ERRATA.

Page 60, line 17, for *them* read *they*.

— 77, — 7, for *W. Maurice*, read *Mr. Maurice*.

— 92, — 24, for *laws*, read *law*.

— 199, — 19, the words should read thus:—"that when he was present—a leaden cross was shewn him, &c."—
See *Appendix*, No. 12.

— 209, — 5, for *tonges* read *torques*, or *wreath*.

— — — N. B. Gray's imitation of *Aneuria* was designed for a note at the bottom of the page; the Reader will rectify the mistake whereby the lines are separated in the printing.

— 315, — — for *Stromachalep*, read *Streameshalk*.

IN VOL. I.

PREFACE, page x. near the bottom, read *gentleman*.

In page 309, line 4, read *reference*.

HORÆ BRITANNICÆ;

OR,

Studies in Ancient British History.

PART THE THIRD.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

The Introduction of Christianity into Britain.

THE light of the Gospel, according to the testimony of credible historians, was generally diffused throughout the Roman empire, and even beyond the bounds of it, within the age of the apostles. Our Lord, in foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, assured His apostles that, previous to that event, the gospel of the kingdom should be published among all nations, that the light of evangelical truth should dawn upon the world at large. But the immediate consequence of the introduction of Christianity among any people, although productive of the greatest blessings to individuals, would not at once bring about the conversion of whole nations: we must not, therefore, be forward to receive, without some qualification, all the various accounts handed down respect-

ing the astonishingly rapid progress of Christianity in the primitive times. It will, therefore, be highly necessary to investigate with care, what relates to the religious history of our own country in those ages, and not to admit evidence of a suspicious nature to warp our judgment from the genuine truth of history.

From the details given in the former parts of this undertaking, we may form some judgment respecting the degraded state of our ancestors, while involved in the darkness of Heathenism. No country could stand in greater need of the light of Christianity, than the island of Britain. We have endeavoured to trace every thing favourable in the character of the Ancient Britons, and their Druid sages; but we have found, on fair investigation, that their habitations were habitations of cruelty; that the most diabolical passions predominated among them; and that they were addicted to the most nefarious practices, promoted by the system of superstition which prevailed among them.

Whatever proficiency some of the Druid sages may have made in physical or moral science, the common people remained in a state of profound ignorance and barbarity of manners: if we suppose that they exerted themselves in any shape to produce any moral reformation, their efforts, it would appear, were unavailing. There were certain principles taught by the Druids, which, if properly applied, might be supposed to have a favourable effect on the minds of the people: but their horrid superstitions perverted every thing; and, while these were practised, there could not be found among them the virtues fictitiously connected with the religion of Nature. Without the knowledge of the one true God, it is in vain to look for the uniform practice of justice, temperance, and chastity: for cruelty, sensuality, and lasciviousness, are the necessary concomitants of

idolatry, which tends only to aggravate, and not to reform, the moral diseases of fallen man. It is, therefore, highly gratifying to the pious Briton to reflect, that we have credible documents from which to satisfy our inquiries, that our native isle was visited, at an early period, with the bright beams of evangelical truth.

We have the testimony of some of the most respectable writers of antiquity as to the early reception of Christianity among our ancestors. The most important of these are the following :—

1. That of TERTULLIAN, who flourished about the middle of the second century. In his book, written against the Jews, chap. vii. speaking on the words of the Psalmist, *Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world*; he speaks thus—“ In whom have all the nations of the earth believed but in *Christ*? Not only Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya and Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes,* but also all the boundaries of the Spaniards; all the different nations of Gaul, and *those parts of BERTAIN* inaccessible to the Romans.”

2. The learned and ingenious ORIGEN, who flourished about A. D. 220, is respectable authority; and he has a passage to our purpose. In his fourth Homily on Ezekiel, speaking of the prophecies which the Jews allowed to refer to the advent of the Messiah, and particularly on the words, *The whole earth shall shout for joy*, he says, “ The miserable Jews acknowledge that this is

* *Etiam Hispaniarum omnes terminus, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britanniarum inaccessæ Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.*

spoken of the presence of Christ : but they are stupidly ignorant of the person, though they see the words fulfilled." *Quando enim terræ Britanniae ante adventum Christi, in unius Dei cognovimus religionem? When, before the advent of Christ, did the land of Britain scarce in the worship of one God? When did the land of the Moors? When did the whole globe at once agree in this? But now, on account of the churches which are spread to the uttermost bounds of the world, the whole earth, with rejoicing, invokes the God of Israel.*"—*Origen*, Vol. III. p. 370, as cited by Dr. A. CLARKE, in his *Missionary Address*. 1815.

3. **ANASTASIUS**, who flourished about A. D. 506, and was the author of many learned works, and an eminent defender of the Christian religion. This father, in treating of the 147th Psalm, says, "That, whereas for so many ages, the true God was known among those of Judea alone; now, He is known to the Indians to the East, and the Britons to the West."

4. **St. CHRYSOSTOM**, that eloquent orator, the primate of Constantinople, who flourished about A. D. 400, after speaking of the general spread of Christianity among all nations, exclaims, "What shall I say? Even beyond our habitable world: for the islands of **BRITAIN**, which are situated beyond our sea, in the very ocean itself, have felt the power of the word; and even there churches are built, and altars erected." Christianity, at this time, had been for some time well known in Britain.

5. But we have no testimony more explicit than that of **THEODORET**, who flourished A. D. 423: "Those our fishermen, and publicans, and our tent-makers," he says, mentioning with exultation the labours of the apostles, "have propagated the Gospel among all nations: not only among the Romans, and they who are

subjects of the Roman empire, but the Scythians, and the Sauromatæ, the Indians, also the Ethiopians, the Persians, the Hyrcani, the BRITONS, the Cimmerii, and the Germans; so that it may be said, in one word, that all the different nations of mankind have received the laws of the Crucified."

This declaration, of so eminent a person as Theodoret, evinces it to have been the general belief, in his age, that the Britons had received the Gospel from the days of the apostles. We shall presently notice a further testimony from this father.

6. But the testimony of EUSEBIUS should carry great weight with it. This venerable man was bishop of Cæsarea, and celebrated for his writings; and in particular for his ecclesiastical history. He considered it a striking evidence of the truth of Christianity, that the apostles had preached the Gospel with so great success, in so many countries and regions of the globe, so widely remote from each other. The apostles, he argues, could be no impostors: "For, although it were possible for such men to deceive their neighbours and countrymen with an improbable tale; yet, what madness were it for such illiterate persons, who understood only their mother-tongue, to go about to deceive the world, by preaching this doctrine in the remotest cities and countries?" Having then named the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Indians, and Scythians, he adds, "particularly, that some of them passed over the ocean to the BRITISH isles." Such a position could not be advanced by so learned and well-informed a person as Eusebius, without possessing sufficient grounds for what he so confidently affirmed. This excellent bishop was the intimate friend of the Emperor Constantine; and had every opportunity to examine public records and documents, to satisfy himself on subjects of that nature.

We may, therefore, infer, without danger of being deceived, that it was the generally received opinion in that age, that Britain was one of the countries which was favoured with the light of the Gospel in the age of the apostles. Thus all antiquity bears testimony to the fulfilment of the prediction and promise of our Lord, respecting the general spread of the Gospel by the ministry of the apostles and their co-adjutors.

7. But we have the positive testimony of a countryman of our own, as to the early reception of Christianity in Britain: this is GILDAS, generally called *Badonicus*, the son of *Gau*, a chieftain of the north, and brother to *Aneurin*, the famous Otadinian Bard, the author of the *Gododin*, a Poem written in commemoration of the battle of *Cattraeth*; the last grand conflict between the Saxons and the Northumbrian Britons. Gildas, with his father and other branches of the family, fled into Wales, where many of them embraced a religious life. There he appears to have paid attention to the history of Britain: but he complains that, owing to the distresses of the times, and the unsettled state of things, he could collect but little information. The only thing we have of this old Briton, is his epistle *De Excidio Britannicæ*. In that he notices the deplorable situation of the Britons, in consequence of the revolt under *Badicea*; and the terrible havoc that ensued upon the defeat of that heroine, which happened A.D. 61. But about that time, or soon after that memorable event, this country was visited with that manifestation of Divine mercy, which is thus narrated by Gildas: "In the mean time, *Christ*, the true *Sun*, superior to that luminary which shines in the firmament, displayed His Divine rays, the knowledge of His precepts, to THIS ISLAND, benumbed with the gloom of winter; for we know that in the latter end of the reign of *Tiberius*

Cæsar, His bright and glorious beams first shone upon the world." The passage, as it stands in the original Latin, is rather obscurely expressed with regard to one or two particulars, which Dr. Stillingfleet has taken some pains to clear up :—1. By reading *SOZ* for *SOLUN*—2. By construing the reign of Tiberius in connection with the manifestation of Christ to mankind, and not the time of the Gospel being first propagated in Britain; for, as he previously speaks of the revolt under Boadicea, Gildas meant to intimate that it was about that time the blessed event took place.

We see, then, what was the received tradition of the British Christians in the age of Gildas, who was born upon the day of the famous battle of Badon Mount; which was fought about A. D. 520. As to any further particulars respecting this interesting subject, the historian was not able to convey any information. Whatever memorials relative to the first propagation of Christianity might have been at one time preserved, they were either no longer in existence, or unknown to Gildas. He knew nothing of the honoured instrument by whom the sound of salvation was first proclaimed in this island. There has been, however, a current tradition, and which, it must be admitted, has had the passport of many ages, respecting a name of great veneration, Joseph of Arimathea, him who deposited the body of Christ in his own sepulchre.

The account given by the Romish writers respecting the mission of St. Joseph to Britain, is to the following purport :—

In consequence of the persecution which ensued upon the death of Stephen, the proto-martyr of the Christian church, the apostles and their disciples being scattered abroad, the apostle Philip, (or, according to others, the evangelist of that name;) along with Joseph

of Arimathea, came to France, (the ancient Gaul;) where, it is said also, they were miraculously brought by sea. Finding that Britain was only divided by a narrow sea from France, and that the superstitions of the people of both countries were much alike, Joseph was deputed by Philip, with eleven companions, to cross the sea to Britain. Where these good people landed, whether in Cornwall or in Kent, we know not; but the first scene of their mission is laid in Somersetshire: there they gained the favour of the prince of that country, called *Arviragus*, who assigned them a spot of land for their residence, and the building of a church. The extent of the land given them was *twelve hides*, one for each of them. This was at the place called *YNYS WYDRIN*, and afterwards *YNYS AVALLON*, (near *Wells*,) the famous Glastonbury. Here was a glorious beginning for these missionaries, who, as it seems, were more concerned to have a suitable residence for themselves than to propagate the Gospel through the island.

This was in the year 63, or thirty years after the ascension of our Lord; by which time St. Joseph, who was not a young man at the time of our Saviour's death, must be well stricken in years to travel into France and Britain, to evangelize the fierce inhabitants. But the whole of the circumstances of this story, (of which I have omitted some of the most absurd appendages,) smell very strongly of monkery. Bishop Goodwin was disposed to credit it; but neither Usher, nor Parker, nor Stillingfleet, could be induced to receive it.

This may have been generally received among the monks since the conquest; but not previous to that period, as Dr. Stillingfleet has proved: for we have no evidence of any charter granted to the monks of Glastonbury more ancient than that given by King Ina; and

as to the tales we have of David, Patrick, and Gildas, frequenting the place, as if it were of great celebrity in ancient times, they rest on no good authority. But if we admit the antiquity of Glastonbury, yet that does not prove the truth of what is said respecting Joseph of Arimathea, and his company, of whom nothing is said in those charters granted by King Ina. The monks of other places laid to the charge of those of Glastonbury, that they pretended to greater authority than they had reason for, that monastery being first founded by King Ina; whereas they pretended that they had lands given them by Arviragus, a king of the Britons. Even William of Malmesbury, says Stillingfleet in one place, plainly affirms that King INA was the first founder of it. To this Asserius, in his Chronicle, agrees, saying—"That, A. D. 726, INA went to Rome, and died there; having built and dedicated a monastery in Glastonbury."

That the Gospel was preached in an early age, at or near that spot, and a small edifice erected there for public worship, and the celebration of Christian ordinances, there may be some reason to believe. The retiredness of the situation might also render it suitable for the British Christians, when the system of monkery, or religious seclusion, began to prevail among them. It may have been a kind of sanctuary even in the time of the Druids; and the British Christians, being fond of erecting their churches on the site of spots deemed sacred in Heathen times, that may have given rise to the idea of the peculiar sanctity of Glastonbury.

In order to account for the imposing and fictitious legend of Joseph of Arimathea, we must advert to the disputes which were frequent and vehement respecting religious houses, soon after the Norman conquest. The monasteries, in order to rank high, and claim exemption from the jurisdictions of their respective bishops,

vied with each other as to the antiquity of their several institutions. The monks of Glastonbury, in order to claim precedence, invented the tale of Joseph of Arimathea and his companions; that they might be deemed worthy of the honour due to the spot where an apostolic man first planted the Christian religion in Britain.

It is not probable that either Philip, or Joseph of Arimathea, ever came to the west of Europe: it is more likely that they went among the Galatæ of Asia, rather than the Gauls; the one people being, in some instances, confounded with the other. To this must be added, what Stillingfleet has noticed from Leland, that the name of the Eremit, who first attempted to form a religious institution at *Avalonia*, or *Glastonbury*, was JOSEPH. This person, with eleven more for his companions, came to the sacred spot, and settled there; and this, in all probability, gave rise, in after times, to the fiction of Joseph of Arimathea being the founder of Glastonbury, and the apostle of this country. It was from Gaul, of course, that he must come to Britain: but what led him to Gaul in his old age, when we have no account of his being an evangelist nearer home, we can have no rational account from the dreaming monks, who wished to make monkery appear co-eval with Christianity.

While we dismiss the fabulous narrative of Joseph of Arimathea, we may observe that even that account contains in it the grand feature of ancient tradition, with respect to the planting of Christianity in this island, in the age of the apostles. Which of the apostles was most likely to engage in that undertaking, or to interpose in promoting it, we have now to inquire.

Some of the Catholic writers, without any support from primitive antiquity, have very incongruously put in a claim for St. Peter, as the apostle of Britain; but

the absurdity of this tale, advanced first by *Simon Metaphrastes* of Constantinople, who lived about A.D. 990, has been sufficiently exposed by Goodwin, and by Usher, and also by Stillingfleet. Baronius, and others of the church of Rome, have voted for St. Peter's coming to Britain, in order to enhance, agreeably to their notions, the honour of the Prince of the apostles, and to make this island indebted to the Roman see for its first knowledge of Christianity.

The name of *Aristobulus*, a Roman Christian, mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, chap. 16, is mentioned in the Roman Martyrology, as having suffered martyrdom in preaching the Gospel: but, in the Greek Martyrology, according to Baronius, it is stated that he preached to the Britons. This seems confirmed by the account of him in the History of the British Saints, as preserved in manuscript, and derived from the collections of the monks of Llanccarvan; for there he is spoken of, as one of the attendants of the family of Caractacus, on their return from Rome, of which we shall speak presently. In the British account he is called *Armyslli*, as it were *Aristobuli* contracted, leaving out the Latin termination, and softening as well as contracting the word; whereby it was familiarised to the old Britons, agreeably to their own accent and pronunciation.

But some very eminent writers have thought, that we have pretty strong evidence to induce our belief, that St. Paul came to Britain to promulgate the Gospel among our ancestors. The arguments advanced to support this hypothesis carry great plausibility; and they are here presented to the Reader.

St. Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles, and it was his ardent desire to spread the Gospel among all nations; and, when he was delivered from the hands of

his persecutors, at Rome, after his appearing before Nero the first time, he expresses himself thus, in writing to his beloved son Timothy: "The Lord stood with me, and strengthened me; that, by me, the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear."

This would seem to imply that, in consequence of the apostle's release, the Gospel was preached by him in new places and remote regions; and, in particular, to make any thing for the present argument, that his labours extended to the west of Europe. That St. Paul promised to visit Spain, we know from what is said in his Epistle to the Romans; and it is argued that such a journey was practicable, as he had a sufficient space of time to accomplish that purpose; and, in connection with it, to preach also in Gaul and Britain. The time that must have elapsed from his first release to his second imprisonment, is stated to be adequate to such an undertaking. But, in order to investigate the subject thoroughly, we should examine what learned men have advanced respecting the circumstances of St. Paul's first and second imprisonment, and the probability or improbability of this western journey, which he is supposed to have taken.

In proof that the apostle took such a western journey, the testimony of Clemens Romanus is produced: he was St. Paul's companion, and may be supposed to have been well acquainted with his travels in propagating the Gospel. He affirms, that "St. Paul having taught righteousness to the whole world, and having travelled to the utmost bounds of the west, (*ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς οὐσέως*;) suffered martyrdom, and went to the holy place; being an illustrious example of patient suffering." This passage, especially when taken in connection with other ancient testimonies, is considered as

conclusive. A certain learned Prelate of the present age has treated the subject in a very able manner ; contending, that what Clement says as to St. Paul extending his labours to the utmost bounds of the west, must necessarily include both Spain and Britain. " The journey from Rome to Britain," his lordship observes, " was not at all an impracticable one ; and Clement was a perfectly competent judge of the extent of St. Paul's travels. What then should render the literal sense of Clement's testimony inadmissible ? Is it a solitary testimony ? Or is it extravagant and hyberbolical in its language ?"

" If it were a solitary testimony," his lordship argues, " and we had nothing in the rest of the Fathers to explain its meaning, or to countenance the supposition, that by the utmost bounds of the west were meant Spain and Britain, we might be content with the single satisfaction that there is nothing in the Fathers which is contradictory to such a supposition, or to the literal meaning of the passage, and something in St. Paul's expressed intention, which renders it probable. But it is not a solitary testimony ; and there is, besides, other direct evidence in the Fathers, both to explain its meaning, and to confirm the fact declared by its literal sense. There are many passages in the Fathers, which assure us that the Gospel was preached in Britain *in the days of the apostles* ; that Britain was visited by some of the apostles, and more than one ; that St. Paul, in particular, was there."

This reasoning of Bishop Burgess accords with what Bishop Stillingfleet has advanced, in his *Origines Britannicæ* ; where he argues, that the expression of St. Clement comprehends Britain within the sphere of the travels of the apostle Paul. He remarks, that Theodoret asserts, that the apostle brought salvation to the

Island which lie in the ocean, having just before mentioned Spain; so that there is every probability that he could mean no other than the British island. In another place, that same Father says, that St. Paul, after his release at Rome, went to Spain, and carried the light of the Gospel to other nations. "What other nations," says the bishop, "so likely to be understood as those which lay the nearest, and are elsewhere said to be converted by the apostles, as the Britons are by him." St. Jeron affirms, "That St. Paul, having been in Spain, went from one ocean to another, imitating the motion and course of the Sun of righteousness, of whom it is said, that His going forth is from the end of heaven, and His circuit unto the ends of it; and that his diligence in preaching extended as far as the earth itself." In another place he saith, that St. Paul, "after his imprisonment, preached the Gospel in the western parts;" which is equivalent with the manner of Clement's expressing himself, that the apostle travelled to the bounds, or the boundary, of the west.

We have already mentioned the testimonies of *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Arnobius*, and *Eusebius*, as to the early reception of the Gospel in this our island; so that all, taken together, seem to make out a very plausible case, to corroborate the hypothesis that St. Paul preached in Britain, as a fair interpretation of the words of *Clement*.

As to the question whether St. Paul had leisure and opportunity for spending so much time in the west, as to allow him to visit Britain, Dr. Stillingsfleet makes it appear plausible that, between the period of St. Paul's release and his second imprisonment, he might have made his way to Britain. The chronology of the apostle's life would hardly allow of this, for St. Paul is supposed not to have come to Rome until A. D. 62,

and then it must be A. D. 64, when he was released; and he could not have been much more than two years absent from Rome before he was confined there a second time. But Dr. Stillingfleet regards the usual chronology as erroneous; and the bishop of St. David's has ably defended the theory of that learned prelate, by shewing that what has given rise to the common computation of St. Paul's ministry, was a mistake respecting the duration of Felix's government of Judæa. The bishop clears up the matter, by proving that Felix was dismissed from his government in the second year of Nero; and, therefore, St. Paul might have come to Rome in the latter end of the second, or the beginning of the third, year of Nero; that is, A. D. 56 or 57: so that his release would fall out in the year 59, if not in the latter end of the year 58.* St. Paul would thus have about eight years until his second imprisonment, for preaching in various countries; which space of time, it is supposed, he spent in Europe, and that he returned no more to the east. This is inferred from the apostle's words to the elders of the church of Ephesus, whom he met at Miletus; where he told them, in that solemn manner, "I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the Word of God, shall see my face no more."—Acts xx.

The apostle had long contemplated a journey into the western parts of Europe, as appears from what he said in writing to the Christians at Rome. He assures them, that his design was to visit them, (whom at that time he had not seen,) on his journey to Spain; and that he expected to be forwarded by some of them on his way to that country. As it was the glory of this apostle to

* See Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, and the Bishop of St. David's *Letters to his Clergy*.

preach Christ, where His name had not been published before ; and as it would appear he had time for such a journey ; it is concluded that he did actually visit Spain. That the apostle came from Spain, or from Gaul to Britain, rests upon the testimonies before recited, and the sense in which they have been taken. The hypothesis, according to which St. Paul came to Rome in the second year of Nero, takes away that improbability which otherwise would attach to the supposition. This accords with the computation of Eusebius and Jerome, both of whom say that St. Paul came to Rome in the second year of Nero, and that he suffered martyrdom in the fourteenth of that reign.

The importance of Britain is adduced as an argument for St. Paul's visiting it ; for, besides the native inhabitants, the great number of Roman citizens and soldiers in the colonial and municipal towns must have been very considerable. In answer to the objection that we have no memorials among ancient writers of any particular churches planted by this apostle in Italy, Spain, or Gaul ; it is replied, that we are not to judge of the planting of churches by the remaining annals and monuments, because, on the one hand, we are assured that *their sound went out into all the earth* ; and, on the other hand, great care was taken in the several persecutions, especially that of Dioclesian, to burn all the monuments which concerned the Christian church.

I have endeavoured to lay before the Reader a summary of what learned men have advanced on the subject of St. Paul's preaching in the west of Europe, and particularly in Britain. The reasons stated are exceeding plausible ; such as gave satisfaction to some very eminent persons. But, while it is admitted that the Gospel was preached here in the days of the apostles, there is some reason to doubt whether the circumstances of

the apostle Paul would permit him to undertake that great western journey.

As the Second Epistle to Timothy was written while St. Paul was the second time in prison at Rome, some mention of such a journey into new regions and countries would have been noticed. But there is a great probability that the apostle, after his first release, did return to visit the eastern churches. This was the opinion of Dr. Lardner; who totally denies the existence of this great western journey. He argues that, although it was the earnest wish of St. Paul to take a journey as far as Spain, he regards that more as his own private desire than a purpose formed from the Spirit of prophecy and Divine illumination. In the same manner the apostle mentions that he had been frustrated from visiting certain churches, agreeable to what he had purposed in his own mind.

The return of St. Paul to the East appears probable from several expressions in those epistles of his, which were written from Rome, and in particular from his desiring Philemon to prepare him a lodging. From such expressions it would appear that the apostle had abandoned his proposed journey into Spain.

With respect to the words of Clement, Lardner does not admit that they, by any means, prove what they have been adduced to establish: that, by the bounds of the west, we are to understand Italy as being in the west, and opposed to the countries of Asia. Clement speaks of St. Paul *coming* to the west, but not of *his going*, as if he travelled westward from Rome. "If Clement," says the doctor, "had thought of Spain or Britain, or any other places beyond that in which himself was, he would not have said, *Και ελθων*, and *having come*, but *πορευσαμενος*, or some other equivalent expres-

sion, and having gone to the bounds of the west.* *L'Enfant*, and *Beausobre*, in their general Preface to St. Paul's Epistles, say that *the bounds of the west* signify nothing but *the west*. It is an expression borrowed, they say, from the Scriptures, in which the borders of a country denote the country itself. In like manner, by those words, Clement intended Italy."

As I have adduced some arguments in favour of the hypothesis that St. Paul went as far as Spain, and even Britain, preaching the Gospel, after his first imprisonment at Rome, it was proper to state the objections to that hypothesis; objections which, to me, appear to have some weight in them. I should be disposed to coincide with the learned prelates, who maintain that the apostle Paul was the apostle of Britain, if the evidence on that side did not appear obscured with serious and weighty objections. But if St. Paul himself never was in Britain, we have no reason to believe that any other apostle visited this island. That the Gospel was preached here in the age of the apostles we admit, upon undeniable evidence, arising from various concurrent testimonies; to strengthen which, we have something further to adduce in addition to what has been already advanced. While the apostle was at Rome, we may reasonably conclude that, when he did not find it practicable to undertake his western journey, he made provision for the extension of the Gospel into the western parts of Europe; and this may well account for what some of the ancients affirmed, that St. Paul travelled as far as the islands of the ocean to plant the Gospel.

* St. Paul, it is said, travelled *ἐν τέρμα της δύσεως*, to the boundary or verge of the west, and there suffered martyrdom.—Now it was not in Spain or Britain, but at Rome, that St. Paul suffered.

II.—The state of Britain, during the reigns of Claudius and of Nero, attracted the attention of the whole Roman empire; and the intercourse between the new province and the seat of government was daily increasing in importance. In that state of things St. Paul was brought to Rome a prisoner; famed, even before his coming, as an abettor of a new religion. As the apostle was permitted to live in his own apartments, although guarded as a captive, he received all who chose to resort to him for information and instruction; and hereby the purpose of Divine Providence, with respect to the spread of Christianity through the world, was promoted. In that great capital, persons of different ranks, employments, and offices, might be found; ambassadors, captive princes, merchants, and mechanics. Several of these would be prompted by curiosity to make inquiries respecting Paul, the principal teacher and propagator of the religion of Him that was condemned by Pilate to the cross. Among those who were men of note, not the least considerable was *Caractacus*, or *Caradoc*, the brave Silurian prince, who, with his family, was brought captive to Rome to grace the triumph of Claudius over the subjugated Britons. It was about A. D. 52, that this event happened; the British prince having been defeated by Ostorius Scapula, the commander of the Roman forces, and then infamously betrayed by *Cartismandua*, queen of the Brigantes, into the hands of the enemy. Our British hero, who had persevered in opposing the power of the Romans, for nine years fighting for the independence of his country, was made a spectacle to the citizens of Rome. When presented before the imperial tribunal, his spirit was unbroken; and he retained that heroic magnanimity

which even adversity could not subdue: his noble deportment and address procured him the admiration of the emperor and his court; so that the hero and his family, instead of being doomed to punishment, had their chains knocked off, and their pardon pronounced; an act of clemency which added lustre to victory.

St. Paul could not continue unacquainted with these transactions; nor was it possible, for a mind like his, to feel indifferent to events that regarded the happiness or misery of mankind, by deciding the fate of nations. The occurrences of the age must be considered by him, as under the direction of the God whose servant he was; and subservient to His gracious design of diffusing the Gospel among all nations. The subjugation of the island of Britain by the Romans would be regarded by the apostle as likely to terminate in the good of that country.

That, by means of the British captives returning home to their native land, where they had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Christians and their religion, the knowledge of Christianity might be conveyed to our island, is no improbable conjecture.—Pious soldiers in the Roman army, as well as officers, civil or military, must also become instruments of diffusing the same Divine knowledge in Britain as well as in other parts of the empire where they were stationed.

It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that, by means of the family of Caractacus returning to Britain, the Gospel might have been introduced among their countrymen; if, therefore, we can find any traditionary notice that this was the case, we shall be the more ready to accede to such an account.

That what we here suppose was so in reality we are

assured from faithful documents long preserved, though in obscurity, and therefore not to be despised because not blazoned abroad in the world like most of the monkish fictions. In those historical notices, handed down to us in the form of *triades*, we have some account of the blessed event of which we are speaking. I shall give the accounts, as we have it, in two distinct passages: the first is, where the three holy families of Britain are mentioned; the first of which is—

“*Brán*, the blessed, the son of *Lear*, the stammerer; and this was that *Brán* that first brought the Christian faith to this island from Rome, where he was detained a captive, through the treachery of *Cartismandua*, (here called *Aregwedd Foeddawg*,) the daughter of *Avarwy*, the son of *Lud*.”

“The second holy family is that of *Cunedda*, the Northumbrian Prince, who is commended for having been the first who gave a legal establishment, and bestowed lands for the maintenance of religion.”

“The third is *Brechan*, prince of the territory of Brecknock; who took care to have his children and grand-children educated in a religious way, that they might instruct and convert their countrymen who were yet destitute of the Christian religion.”

In another triad, *Brán*, (or *Brennus*,) is ranked with *Lleirog*, (or *Lucius*,) and the last king of the Cambro-Britons, *Cadwalader*. These are styled the three blessed or sainted sovereigns of Britain, and *Brán* in particular; because—

“He was the person who first introduced the Christian religion among the nation of the *Cymry*, from Rome; where he had been detained for seven years as a hostage for his son *Caradoc*, (*Caractacus*,) whom the Romans made a captive through the treachery of *Are-*

guedd Foedhawg," that is, *Cartismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*.*

The History, or Genealogy, of the British Saints, agrees with what is said in the *Triads*, respecting the introduction of Christianity into Britain by the father of the great Silurian hero. The passage runs thus :—

" *Brân*, the son of *Lear*, the stammerer, was the first of the nation of the *Cymry* that embraced the Christian faith."

In another copy, it is said thus :—

" *Brân* was the first who brought the Christian faith to this country."

With respect to the family of *Caractacus*, although *Tacitus* mentions his wife and brothers, no mention is made of his father; who is said, in the *Triads*, to have been detained as a hostage seven years at Rome. That such a circumstance should be introduced into these ancient notices, is not a little singular; it is not improbable that it was at first inserted by some conceited transcriber. It would seem that, although *Caractacus* was liberated, the jealousy of *Claudius*, and the policy of an enemy, would not suffer that prince to return to Britain. His family continued with him at Rome, perhaps as prisoners at large, while he lived; and, at the death of that hero, his family might be permitted to return home, as we are told his father did.

In that little work, *The Genealogy of the Saints*, express mention is made of the names of some persons who accompanied *Brân* into this country, as Christians,

* As the name *Foedhawg*, or *Boedhawg*, in sound, appears to be the British name of *Boadicea*, Mr. Wm. Owen has confounded this princess with the infamous *Cartismandua*: but *Tacitus* plainly enough distinguishes the one from the other; the one being queen of the *Iceni*, whereas the other reigned over the *Brigantes*.

to preach the Gospel, and to form a Christian church in Britain; and that, in particular, among the Silurians in Wales: these are *Ilid* and *Cynon*, who are said to be Israelites. But there is mention of one who is called a man of Italy, and named, in consonance with the genius of the language, *Arwystli*; that is, Aristobulus, who, according to some other accounts, was the first bishop in this island.

The whole of the account which we have in the ancient memorials referred to, is very different from the mode in which the monkish fictions are generally dressed out. There is nothing like the Glastonbury tale of Joseph of Arimathea, and his twelve associates. There is nothing contrary to probability, and the general state of things in that age. St. Paul was brought to Rome about A. D. 58; although, according to others, it was later: but, if we admit their chronology, the apostle might have had intercourse with some of the family of the captive prince, by means of some of the saints in Cæsar's household; and Aristobulus, it would appear, was the person whom St. Paul delegated for the blessed purpose, in company with two more, to announce the glad tidings of salvation to the Britons. Thus we have sufficient evidence, besides the rational probability of the thing, that if St. Paul himself was not the apostle of Britain, it was through his interference, and his general anxiety for the salvation of the Gentile world, that the Gospel was first brought to Britain.

We have before considered the positive testimony of our old historian *Gildas Badonicus*; who, although his notice of the most important events are short and abrupt, and delivered in a confused style and manner, has not passed by this important article of intelligence, that Christianity was introduced among our ancestors during the reign of Nero; though he mentions not who were

the honoured instruments of introducing into this island that important blessing. But, in a writer like Gildas, we must not be surprized that we have no detail of events which transpired at so early a period.

Bishop Stillingfleet, in his valuable work of *ORIGINES BRITANNICÆ*, has reasoned thus on the subject of our present disquisition :—

“ It is certain,” says the bishop, “ that St. Paul did make considerable converts at his coming to Rome ; which is the reason of his mentioning the saints in Cæsar’s household. And it is not improbable that some of the British captives, carried over with Caractacus and his family, might be some of them who would certainly promote the conversion of their country by St. Paul.”

It is rather remarkable that the learned prelate should undesignedly coincide with the statement of our British tradition, with which he was utterly unacquainted ; and the world might have continued ignorant of so valuable a fragment of historical intelligence, had it not been for the liberality of an opulent London tradesman, a native of Wales, who patronized the design of collecting materials for a Welsh Archæology.*

Thus the conquests of Rome prepared the way for the spread of Christianity ; by opening that intercourse between the different provinces of the empire, which tended to the diffusion of the true religion among mankind. The general prevalence of the language of Rome, which extended along with its conquests, had also a happy effect in the establishment of Christianity, by lessening

* Owen Jones, Esq. of *Thames-street*, an eminent furrier, a native of *Glyn Myrwr*, in the county of *Merioneth*. Under the patronage of that gentleman three volumes of the *Archæology of Wales* have been published ; and it is much to be wished that the design were extended.

the difficulties arising from a multiplicity of languages. The Greek language, into which the *Old Testament* had been translated, and in which the *New* was originally composed, was known, and popularly used, in the eastern part of the Empire, and spoken by many even in Rome and Italy. Thus various facilities were afforded, under the superintendence of a Divine Providence, for preparing the way of the Lord, and the coming of His kingdom.

III.—The account of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, by means of the family of Caractacus, bears especial reference to the native inhabitants, and in particular to the Silurian Britons, although the blessed men who set up their standard within the territories of *Brân*, (or *Brennus*,) would be anxious to communicate the same spiritual blessing to other territories. Among the Roman soldiers, and the Roman citizens, in the colonial and municipal towns, there might have been several Christians from A. D. 60, to A. D. 70 and 80.

Britain began to be formed into a Roman province about A. D. 43, in consequence of the victories of Claudius and his generals: but Vespasian extended those conquests; and, having been engaged in no less than thirty battles within the space of one year, he paved the way for their final subjugation. A colony of Roman citizens was formed at *CAMALODUNUM*, or *Maldon*, *LONDINIUM* became a place of trade, and *VEROLAN* was formed into a municipal town; and, as it was the first town of that kind, it soon grew up to be the most flourishing in the island, until at length it was eclipsed, and afterwards superseded, by *LONDON*. The other large towns that so rapidly grew into note and celebrity, and were occupied partly by Romans and partly by Britons, shew the increasing populousness of the province, owing

to the number of Romans that continued to come over. The cruelties of Nero at Rome may have proved an inducement for many to leave Italy, and to come and settle in this island. In the dreadful revolt of the nations, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, seventy thousand Romans, including a number of those Britons who were incorporated with them, are stated to have been slain; but, in the defeat of the Britons, by Suetonius Paulinus, a still greater number of the natives perished.

Among the Romans of distinction that came to Britain, it is reasonable to suppose that a few converts to Christianity might be found: one we know there assuredly was, that illustrious person *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the first governor of Britain. Of that lady Tacitus gives us the following account:—

“*Pomponia Græcina*, an illustrious lady, married to Plautius; who was honoured with an ovation, or lesser triumph, for his victories gained in Britain, was charged with having embraced a strange and foreign superstition; for which alleged crime her trial was committed to her husband. He, agreeable to the laws and ancient forms of proceeding in such cases, convened her family and friends together; and, being in their presence tried for her life and fame, she was pronounced innocent.” The historian adds, “that the lady lived long after this, but in perpetual sadness.”

That *Pomponia* was in heart a Christian there can be little doubt, for that was the foreign religion of which the Romans were become so jealous; and the worship of the gods of Heathenism was supposed essential to the prosperity of the empire: to embrace a religion which was in hostility to that of Rome was therefore considered highly criminal, and especially in a person of quality; but this was not always strictly attended to, as we find there were Christians even in Cæsar’s household after

St. Paul came to Rome, as appears from his Epistle to the Philippians, chap. iv. 22.

Pomponia may not have publicly professed Christianity, and was cleared of the charge brought against her, while she was prohibited from adhering to what Tacitus, according to an usual mode of expression, styles a strange and foreign superstition. In consequence of her being thus situated she lived in great privacy; renouncing the pomp of high life, and cherishing in her own breast the sentiments which she dared not divulge. This account of *Pomponia* appears also to be a confirmation of what we have supposed, that there were other persons partial to Christianity among the Romans, who were at this time in Britain; or this lady could not have been so strongly suspected, since her coming to Britain, of evincing a partiality to the Christian cause.

The trial of Plautius's lady occurred, according to Dr. Stillingfleet, when Nero and Calpurnius Piso were consuls, or A. D. 57, which being, according to him, after St. Paul's coming to Rome, he considers her to have been one of the apostle's converts.

Another circumstance has been noticed by Archbishop Usher, and before him by Bishop Goodwin. St. Paul, in his Second Epistle to Timothy, makes mention of *LINUS*, and *PUDENS*, and *CLAUDIA*: *LINUS* is supposed to be the same as the first bishop of Rome of that name. *PUDENS* and *CLAUDIA* are thought to be the same persons upon whose marriage the poet Martial composed one of his epigrams. Martial's Claudia was undoubtedly a British lady, as appears by the poet's encomium upon the graces of her person, the honour of which he seems to envy her native isle:—

*Claudia cœruleis, cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latias pectora plebis habet?*

were at first seized with a sudden panic; and, instead of advancing, stood like men chilled with horror. But, at the word of their general, they soon recovered themselves, and flew with irresistible impetuosity upon all who stood in their way; slaughtering all without distinction, sparing neither sacred nor profane. The invaders paid no respect to the altars and the groves of the Druids; demolishing the former, and cutting down the latter. The notions entertained by the Romans of the barbarity of the Druid rites increased their rage, as they had been taught to believe that the Britons offered up all their captive enemies on the altar, as victims to the demons whom they worshipped. The Romans, in this instance, acted in a manner much the reverse of their general practice, as they mostly tolerated the superstitions of the people whom they subdued: but, to this vindictive policy of theirs, they were instigated by the consideration of the vast influence and ascendancy which the Druids possessed over the minds of the Britons, in rousing them to assert their independence. But, herein they were the instruments of the Divine vengeance, inflicted upon a fanatic horde, the measure of whose iniquity was now become full.

MONA, being so sacred a spot among the British Druids, and one of the last retreats of their superstition, while the Romans were extending their conquests through Britain, its destruction, in which so many of their priests were involved, may be considered as a grand prelude of the approaching ruin of the whole system of British superstition. The capture of Mona, it is true, was not the death-blow of Druidism, as some have supposed; for, notwithstanding the strong language of the Roman historian, the Britons would recover from their consternation; and the Romans, after the first venting of their rage, would feel some sympathy for their heathen

brethren, and be able to trace many things in their mythology and rites near akin to their own. Druidism was so deeply rooted a superstition, that it was not so suddenly to be exterminated; for it had many strongholds in various parts of the island, and especially in the mountainous and secluded situations, and in the Cornish peninsula, as well as the islands off the north-west coast.

The more refined and polished, but equally absurd, superstitions of Rome, would gradually succeed the barbarous rites of the old religion of the Britons, while the truth and purity of the religion of Christ was, by its Divine power, and superior excellency, to triumph over both the one and the other.

In proportion as the Romans extended their conquests, and established their own civil regulations in the country, accompanied by their literature and polished arts, the attachment of the natives to their ancient superstitions would be continually diminishing. The Druids, acting no longer as magistrates, and the principal youth being educated in the Roman learning, and initiated into their institutions, the vast influence which the British *Magi* had hitherto maintained over the minds of the populace, must, in a short time, be completely lost. It was not at once, indeed, that this could be thoroughly effected; even after the public exercise of their rites was prohibited. "For there was something," says Mr. Whitaker, "in the Druidical species of Heathenism, that was peculiarly calculated to arrest the attention, and to impress the mind. The rudely majestic circle of stones in their temples, the enormous Cromlech, the mossy Logan, the huge Carneddhe, and the magnificent amphitheatre of woods, would strongly lay hold upon that religious thoughtfulness of soul which has ever been

so natural to man ; amid all the wrecks of humanity, the monuments of his former perfection."

The infatuated Britons met with the objects of their religious veneration every where: the sun, the great regent of the day; the moon, illuminating the darkness of the night; the rivers, fountains, and lakes; the lofty mountains, and the waters of the ocean encircling Britain; together with the rude monuments interspersed throughout the country: to all these the forefathers of our race paid divine honours. But wherever Roman stations were fixed, and Roman towns raised, the consequence would be to withdraw the British populace from their own superstitions to those of Rome. By means of the Christians in the Roman army, and among their civil officers or their attendants, some of the natives would obtain the knowledge of Christianity, and yield to its transforming power and influence.

The following reflections of the ingenious author before cited, are very appropriate to our subject:—

" Their system, (meaning that of the Romans,) was fully as wild a combination of human vice and folly, more splendid and less cruel, yet less retaining the illustrious doctrines of God's superintendence, the eternity of the soul, and the transitoriness of matter; and less adapted to touch the religious strings of the heart. But the Britons, on their imitating the manners of their conquerors, would naturally adopt their mythology; they would as readily class the Roman with the British deities as the Romans incorporated the British with their own. This strange conduct of exchanging divinities, so common to them and all the other Heathen, was the natural result of a conscious want of satisfaction in a right worship, and a misdirected desire of supplying the place of the one by multiplying the objects of the other. And

yet it would become subservient to the more ready introduction of both within the pale of the Christian religion. Both must, in consequence, have been less addicted to either : the Britons half Romanized, and the Romans, half Britonized in their idolatry, would lose all that attachment to their nation which is merely the servant of prejudice, and yet the strongest barrier generally against conversion."

Thus, by the subjugation of Britain to the power of Rome, the grand purpose of Divine Providence was about to be matured. The knowledge and learning possessed by the Druids soon sunk into obscurity ; and their temporal dignity was now gone for ever, as they were no longer to be invested with magisterial authority. The magic chain, whereby the multitude had been kept in awe, from the belief of their very superior knowledge, as well as their superior power, was now dissolved by the consummate artifices of their new masters ; who, by civilizing them, at the same time were adopting the surest method of enslaving them. But the means whereby they rivetted the chains of the nations depending on them were one day to prove the subversion of Rome.

CHAPTER II.

The Progress of the Christian Religion among the Britons—King Lucius.

HAVING discussed the various accounts respecting the introduction of Christianity into Britain, and endeavoured to ascertain that which appears the most worthy of credit; agreeable to the circumstances of the times, the general state of Christianity in the world, and the few documents which are retained of ancient British tradition, we must proceed to inquire what progress the Gospel made after its introduction among our ancestors.

Here I shall be excused for adverting to the language of the ingenious *Historian of Manchester*, on the nature and tendency of our Divine religion; which appears the more illustrious when contrasted with the errors and obscurity of Heathenism.

“ When by the dread sin of our great representative in Paradise,” Mr. Whitaker observes, “ corruption was first admitted into the spiritual world, ignorance was equally introduced with it into the intellectual; and, as the former proceeded in its work, gradually tainting the principles of the moral life, the latter followed regularly behind, and as gradually clouded the powers of the moral discernment. In this state of the human constitution, the heart fuming up to the head, and viciousness in the one diffusing darkness over the other, the original religion of man would soon be coloured with folly. The mind, chained down to sensitive gratifications, and

brooding perpetually over sensitive gratifications, must soon begin to lose its native elasticity of spirit in the consideration of religion. Many of its ideas concerning it would quickly become material and bodily: the soul of the generality could no longer rise of itself to the contemplation of that world of spirits with which it was so intimately connected; and to the adoration of that spiritual Lord to whom it was so immediately subjected. It required some corporeal representation, some substituted and imaginary resemblance, to be planted before the eye, in order to assist its ideas, and call out its devotions: hence the spreading tree was selected, and the lofty pillar raised, as an emblem of God, and an object of prayer; and the awful Majesty of heaven and earth was regularly worshipped through the medium of one or the other.

“On this principle, probably, was the first introduction of images into the service of the Heathen. Associated vice and folly soon moulded religion into a more corporeal system. Accustomed to sensible objects in devotion, and weakened in her faculties by sin, the mind would soon lose all the spiritual ideas of worship, and retain only the exterior and bodily.

“Thus, in all probability, was the adoration of the pillar and the tree brought at first into the world. And the Britons adopted this idolatry: they worshipped the flourishing oak; they adored the massy column.”

The sentiments which follow are so just and appropriate, that I cannot forbear transcribing them:—

“Matter being once made universally the object of prayer, the mind would naturally wander over the creation, and select such parts of it as appeared most splendid and important. The sun and moon, therefore, would first engage her attention; and, for the same reason, appear to have been more the general objects of

devotion than any other parts of our material system. The planets, the elements, and the ocean; mountains, rivers, and rocks; imaginary intelligences, and departed spirits; would next rise in succession to the world the senseless deities of abused reason. And all of these, probably," adds our author, "and most of them, certainly, were the national divinities of Britain."

The following extract is also so full of fine and appropriate remarks, and expressed in Mr. Whitaker's own brilliant manner, that my presenting it to the Reader can no less than gratify him:—

"Amidst these wild wanderings of disordered religion, the two primary institutions of God, priests and sacrifices, and the three principal doctrines of a superintending Providence, the world's final destruction, and the soul's continuance in a future period of existence, were all carefully retained by the Britons. The great incident of the Fall occasioned the institutions at first: and it was still pointed out by the observances. If the Deity had not known man to have sunk from his original perfection, and if Heathenism had not believed a corruption to have stained his original purity, the former could not have enjoined, or the latter have retained; these particular observances at all. The appointment of interceding ministers, and the establishment of conciliating sacrifices, were obviously made on account of, and must as obviously have indicated in their use, some fixed but erazable taint of impurity in man, and some permanent but appeaseable principle of anger in God. And these were retained by all the Heathen. But the doctrines of a Providence, the soul's immortality, and the world's destruction, were almost confined to the Britons; and they remained among them peculiar incentives to moral actions. In that vitiated tone of the human mind, however, the united force of all these was

weak; the doctrine of the soul's immortality had the abusive notion of transmigration engrafted upon it. The priests were polluted with human sacrifices; and the people were guilty of the greatest impurities, and even of incestuous mixtures." *

As long as the Britons continued masters of their own country, their native superstitions would necessarily prove a most powerful obstruction to their reception of Christianity; we therefore see the over-ruling hand of Providence in their subjugation to the Roman authority, whereby the ascendancy of the Druid priests over them was gradually diminished, and at length destroyed. It was by slow degrees, indeed, that the Britons could be divested of a superstition so deeply rooted in their habits, and intimately combined with all their practices. The wise policy of the Romans, sensible as they were of this difficulty, led them to adopt those measures that were the most effectual to loosen the attachment of the Britons to their country superstition, in order to render them more completely Roman. It is true, as before observed, that the mythology of the masters was, in many respects, equally absurd with that of their new subjects: but ancient prejudices being once loosened, the minds of the Britons would be more at liberty to examine the pretensions of that religion which was equally the reverse of both the Druidical and the Roman. Every system of Heathenism countenanced cruelty and sensuality; although the Romans stigmatized that of the Britons as being connected with the most barbarous rites, while they were insensible of the great moral defect of their own religion. "But a religion of truth and purity now presented itself; a religion which drew aside the curtain of Heathen ignor-

* See *History of Manchester*, Vol. II. 8vo. p. 180—182.

ance, and displayed the genuine nature of God, the genuine nature of man, and the duties and rewards resulting from both. It placed a true and real Divinity at the head of the creation ; a nature eternal in duration, unlimited in power, and unconfined by space ; an intelligence unerringly wise, and unweariedly provident ; and a will infinitely just, unspeakably kind, and inconceivably pure." Mr. Whitaker proceeds, " Christianity represents man as having been once exactly fitted to his sphere of action ; all moral harmony within, and all natural order without : the central point of this lower creation, and a probationer for a happy eternity in a higher state. It then reversed the glass, and shewed him no longer moving in the orbit of duty, and receiving light and warmth from the Divinity, but voluntarily stooping to sin, and necessarily subjected to wretchedness : his body diseased, his understanding darkened, and the little empire of his passions and appetites all risen in rebellion against his reason ; found his mind perplexed with doubts, and his soul distracted with fear, conscious of weaknesses that required the assistance of some kind intercession, and conscious of guilt that needed an atonement ; man, vainly casting a wishful eye for one and the other, through the whole compass of created nature, sinks therefore in melancholy, under the weight of sin, and shudders with horror at the world unknown. The Gospel displays this kind Interceder ; it points out this benevolent Atoner to the eye of despairing man : One fully qualified to mediate from the purity of His will ; and One absolutely enabled to atone, from the dignity of His nature ; a Man interceding for the ruined manhood ; and a God appeasing the offended Godhead ; a Friend descending from the throne of heaven, and a Saviour conducting us to the happiness of it. Such a system of religion, sanc-

tioned, as it was, by preceding prophecies, and authenticated by accompanying miracles, must carry conviction of its Divinity to the soul, melt even the obstinacy of prejudice, and proselyte even the profligacy of guilt."

It is to be lamented that we have no particulars handed down with respect to the manner in which Christianity was propagated among our ancestors; and it is difficult to infer whether its progress was rapid or gradual, whether the Roman government opposed it, or whether it gained ground almost imperceptibly to them among the native Britons. Gildas affirms that it met at first with but a cool reception, and there is too much reason to think that such was the real fact.

With regard to the spread of Christianity in Britain, it must be considered that the intercourse between different parts of the island was exceeding difficult, until the Romans had completed their great roads; and even then we know what obstructions the Roman citizens would meet with in the public profession of Christianity, from the jealousy of the Roman government. The native Britons, addicted as they were to a deep rooted superstition, would be very backward to embrace, if not strenuously opposed to a new religion, which had to combat with all their prejudices, and to oppose all their impurities. Many causes would also tend to prevent the communications between the Roman and the British Christians; and particularly the different languages of the one and of the other.

As the Christian faith is affirmed to have been first brought over to the natives by means of the family of Caractacus, we may be disposed to draw the inference that Christianity would gradually spread among the Silures, and the Demetæ, and the contiguous tribes of the Ædui of Somerset, and the Dobuni of Gloucestershire; as well as the Ordovices of North Wales, and

the Cornavii of Shropshire and Cheshire. By means of the Roman Christians, Christianity would also be diffused in the large towns of Camalodanum and Verulam; the trading towns, such as London; and the great stations of York, Caerleon, Exeter, Winchester, Chester, &c. But it was in obscure places in the country of the Silures or the Edui, or some of the other tribes of the Britons, I am disposed to think, the first congregations of Christians were collected, and public profession was made of the faith of Christ.

How pleasing to carry our views back into these remote ages, and imagine we see the first missionaries, and their disciples, assembled under the shade of the wide spreading oak, instructing the people in the knowledge of the true God, and of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind; disputing with the Druids, confuting their absurd notions, their gross conceptions, their confused and complex mythology. If, indeed, these men, whoever they were, went forth with the zeal and in the spirit of the apostles, the truth could not fail of carrying its own evidence, and of producing conviction, being accompanied with Divine influence, and perhaps with miraculous powers, as in Judea. The example of genuine purity and innocence displayed in the lives of such, and the happiness of their dispositions, would command esteem and reverence for the system of religion they professed.

But, however great their zeal may have been, when we consider the nature of the country, and the difficulty of communication, we cannot suppose that the new religion would spread from nation to nation, with victorious rapidity. Their wars and insurrections, their intestine divisions among themselves, the ferocity of some, and the deep rooted prejudice of others, together with the abominable wickedness of the generality, must

present very formidable obstacles to the spread of the Gospel. We may, in some measure, conceive how it was among our ancestors, when we consider what slow progress Christian missionaries make in the present day among the Heathen inhabitants of India, although enjoying the powerful protection of the British government.

That love of liberty and of independence, which was so inherent in the Britons, produced in them such rancour, and hatred, and impatience, under the Roman yoke, that it was extremely difficult for any of them to divest themselves of such passions, and rise superior to the wrongs they had experienced from their victorious masters. This would tend to obstruct the intercourse between the Roman and the British Christians; besides the difference between the languages of Rome and Britain.

If the Silures were the first of the British tribes among whom Christianity was propagated, as the Christian faith is said to have been brought over by means of the family of Caractacus, the fierceness of their habits, and their living in a state of continual struggle to throw off the Roman yoke, may account for the slow progress of the religion of Christ among them. On the other hand, it may be thought a wise and a gracious Providence that this new religion was introduced among them by a family so greatly revered in Britain.

Under the government of Julius Agricola many important plans for the civilization of Britain were effected, and the ferocious manners of the natives were smoothed; but, as the Roman luxuries and refinements were hereby introduced among them, it may remain a query, which I do not undertake to solve, Whether the good or the evil of this were the greater, in a moral point of view? The intellectual improvement, which was acquired by a

Roman education, must have been beneficial to the British youth ; while, on the other, it must be confessed, that the simplicity of their former habits was in danger of being exchanged for that corruption of manners which always prevails among a great people. But civilization must be allowed, upon the whole, to be more favourable to the diffusion of Christian truth, than a state of savage barbarity and ignorance.

The ready communication between different parts of the islands, which was opened by means of their great roads, would tend to promote various other improvements ; and would in particular, by conveying the Roman troops to various parts of the island, be the means of facilitating an intercourse between the Roman and the British Christians. Many of the Britons became incorporated as auxiliaries in the Roman armies, and many others lived intermingled with the Roman citizens in their towns. Of the many thousands who fell in that dreadful massacre in the revolt under Boadicea, a great part must be considered as allies of the Romans.

In proportion, therefore, as the Roman province extended its limits, it would, in several respects, be the means of eventually making straight in the desert a high-way for the Lord ; and perhaps we may venture to affirm that the final prevalence of Christianity was more indebted, humanly speaking, to Romans than to Britons.

We have, among ancient writers, some references to the state of Christianity, or rather to the existence of it, in Britain during the first and the early part of the second century ; but I am disposed to think that there were but few who openly professed the religion of Christ. If, indeed, it had flourished, and there were Christian churches settled after the manner of other countries, the diligent and learned *Eusebius* would

have been able to afford us some particulars to satisfy our inquiries. But the state of religion in Britain was not such as to attract the particular notice of foreign churches.

In the writings of the Fathers of the second century, we have but very few references to the state of Christianity in Britain. By the middle of that century the Christians were become very numerous in most parts of the Roman empire, and their churches flourished during the reign of the two *Antonines*. Gildas says that, although the Christian faith was but coolly received by the Britons, yet that it continued to be maintained by some in its purity, until the time of *Dioclesian*: yet there have not been wanting persons who deny the existence of Christianity in this country before the middle of the second century, that is, the time of *Lucius*.

Bede makes no mention of Christianity in Britain until he gives us an account of King *Lucius*'s writing to Rome for Christian teachers. This author was well acquainted with Gildas, as his history contains many passages taken *verbatim* from him; and it seems unaccountable why he should omit Gildas's account of the Gospel being brought to Britain in the time of Nero. In Gildas, we have nothing respecting King *Lucius*; as, owing to the confusion of the times in which he lived, he was unable to procure an exact account of the state of things, from the first propagation of Christianity until the *Dioclesian* persecution.*

The history of *Lucius*, as given in *Bede*, is very concise, and not attended with those circumstances of the marvellous which we have in the *British Chronicle*.

* It is possible that our present existing copies of Gildas are mutilated; and that the original Gildas contained some notice of *Lucius*.

He states, "That, in the year 156, in the time of Marcus Antoninus Verus, and Aurelius Commodus, when Eleutherius presided over the Roman see, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to that bishop, requesting that, by his mandate, he might be admitted into the Christian church. His pious request, (adds the Anglo-Saxon historian,) was presently granted him; and the faith, thus received, was maintained inviolate among the Britons, in profound peace, until the time of Dioclesian."

From this succinct statement we are to infer that there was a native prince exercising royal authority in Britain; and that he was under the necessity of sending to Rome, in order that a person of his dignity might be admitted into the Christian church. It is not expressly stated there was no Christian church here at that time; but Bede does not chuse to tell us there was any.

But it is in the *British Chronicle* we find a more enlarged and splendid account of this transaction. King Lucius, we are informed, succeeded his father Coil, in the kingdom of Britain; and, having heard of the miracles performed by the disciples of Christ, he sent messengers to Rome, making request that Pope Eleutherius would send over some faithful persons proper to instruct him, that he might believe in Christ. Two persons, of the name of Dwyvan and Fagan, were sent to Britain, who preached Christ to him: by these the king was baptized, and all his people followed his example. And after these holy men had administered baptism to the people, and abolished idolatry throughout the whole isle of Britain, the temples devoted to the worship of false deities were consecrated to the true God and *His saints*. In those temples a number of persons were duly ordained to perform Divine service. At that time there were eight and twenty dioceses formed in the Isle

of Britain; and three archbishops were constituted; to whom the twenty-eight bishops were all subject. The three archbishoprics pertained to the three principal cities of the kingdom: namely, London; *Caer Eborac*, (York); and *Caerleon* on the Usk. In the division of the different provinces, *Deira* and *Bernicia*, or the countries to the north of the Humber, pertained to York; to the archbishopric of London belonged all Lloegr and Cornwall, as separated by the Severn from Cymbria, or Wales; which had *Caerleon* for its metropolitan seat: all these were richly endowed by the king. And King Lucius died in the city of Claudius, (or Gloucester,) in the 136th year of the Christian æra; or, according to a different copy, in the year 156.

That a whole kingdom, consisting of all the districts of South Britain, should thus, as in an instant, be converted from Paganism to Christianity, cannot soon be credited, even if there were no obstacles arising from the peculiar circumstances of the time to render this legend absolutely inconsistent with real history. "An astonishing revolution indeed," exclaims Dr. Henry; and the more astonishing that it should be brought about by the influence of a British king, at a time there could be no such king over the smallest territory in all South Britain, who was not in a state of entire dependence on the Romans. But the authority, which it attributes to the Pope of Rome, even in that early age, sufficiently shews from whence this marvellous legend took its rise. But while we allow that nothing can be more preposterous than the account thus magnified; before, with Baxter, we deny the utter existence of Lucius, let us see whether we can discover a more simple and rational account of what Lucius did for the promotion of Christianity within his own territory.

Archbishop Usher has found in an old Saxon Chro-

the celebration of religious services, and thus became a nursing father to the church.

Farther than this it is not unreasonable to suppose that this eminent character would be anxious to obtain a supply of teachers and pastors into his territory; men of greater ability and of greater renown than could be found among the Silures. Some of the Druids, when they had renounced heathenism, might be admitted as teachers of Christianity; and, according to the opinion of some antiquaries, several of the old British clergy were taken from among that order of men.

As to sending to Rome, this might have been done, although not from the motives the Romanists contend for. The Bishop of Rome, at that time, was no more than Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, or any other Bishop of an eminent Christian Church. It was from Rome, as we have already shewn, that the Christian religion was first brought to Britain; and it was natural to infer, that there it was still to be found in its purity; and that there every instruction might be obtained, and able divines might be procured to revive the cause of Truth, which perhaps was now beginning to decline and languish among the Britons.

LLANDAFF became a place of some considerable note among the British Christians; and it is there we find the seat of the first Diocesan Bishop, before CAERLEON was made the metropolitan see of all *Britannia Secunda*, for we read of *Dubricius* as the first bishop of Landaff, before we find a metropolitan at Caerleon.

The account we have now given of Lucius, as a Silurian prince, having afforded his aid and influence in the advancement of religion within his territory, agrees with the most respectable tradition, and carries with it no air of fiction or romance, nothing that contradicts authentic

history, and the known state of Britain or the Roman empire. The contrary must be said of the account given in the chronicle; and even the concise account of Bede, which exalts the Bishop of Rome to a pre-eminence over the people and clergy of other nations, to which universal dominion, although he aspired soon after the age of Constantine, the British clergy refused to submit, even in the seventh century.

The common legend would induce us to believe that there was no Christianity here before Lucius's time; whereas we have shewn from undoubted authorities that the gospel was preached here in the age of the Apostles, and most probably by some person sent over from Rome, when the family of Caractacus returned home.

The absurdity of converting a whole country to the Christian faith, all at once, is more agreeable to the legends of Popery than to truth and matter of fact. Certain districts of Britain continued long after this time in a state of Heathenism; and even, when Garmon and Lupus came over, they adopted those regulations, the want of which previously among the Britons evinces, that the church of Britain had not been formed into regular dioceses in the time of Lucius. The establishments of diocesan bishops and metropolitans, endowed with ample revenues, was a state of things perhaps never known among the old Christians of Britain.

At this period, as well as in a subsequent one, we have no account of Christianity in the most populous and important parts of the kingdom; the little we have pertains to the Britons of Wales, with some legends respecting the contiguous district of Somerset, which probably was among the first parts of Britain that the light of the Gospel shone upon.

CHAPTER III.

The Church in Britain persecuted under Dioclesian and Galerius.

At the time of Dioclesian's accession to the imperial dignity, the Christian Church enjoyed profound tranquillity, and was in a flourishing condition. The persecutions hitherto raised against the Christian religion were not long in their continuance, and confined for the most part to particular provinces, depending much on the disposition of the different governors, with regard both to the fierceness and the duration of them.

If we consider the purity of the Gospel, and its opposition to the absurd and impure superstitions of the Heathen, and which were interwoven with all the ordinary transactions of domestic and civil life, and the favourite amusements of the people, we may well admire that all-wise Providence of God, who restrained the enmity which continually threatened the overthrow of the Church of Christ.

But the Christians did not make due improvement of the tranquillity which now they had for some time enjoyed: the spirit of Christian worship was evaporating; religion was fast degenerating from its primitive simplicity; and it had not that powerful hold on the hearts and lives of its professors, which it once had. Pomp and ceremony were beginning to be substituted in the room of the spirit and truth of their divine religion; and now the Great Head of the Church was about to permit a heavy storm to fall upon them.

The Emperor Dioclesian, partly from policy, and partly out of deference to some men of eminence among the Christians, who were in offices of trust, did not seem inclined to commence a persecution, until *Galerius*, who governed in the East, under the title of Cæsar, urged him to it.

It was in the year 284 that Dioclesian commenced his reign; and in about two years after he made choice of *Maximian Herculus*, who had quelled a violent insurrection among the Gaulish shepherds, for his associate in the empire. Five years after this each of the two emperors fixed upon an associate or vicegerent, to enable them better to bear the weight of the civil and military affairs of the government. *Galerius Maximian*, and *Constantius Chlorus*, were thus constituted Cæsars; and the highest honours, next to the imperial sovereignty itself, were attached to their title, along with the right of succession upon the demise of the reigning emperor.

The two emperors having thus strengthened themselves, engaged in various enterprizes against the enemies of the empire, whom they subdued by a successful prosecution of the war; and having proved victorious both in the East and in the West, they made their solemn entry into Rome, laden with the richest spoils, and decked with all the usual pomp of a triumph.

Dioclesian had reigned seventeen years, according to some, before it was resolved upon between him and his imperial associate to issue the most severe edicts for the entire extirpation of the Christian religion, by destroying their places of worship, burning the Sacred Scriptures, and putting its professors to death.

This was the tenth general persecution, and exceeding in violence and duration any former one. Two circumstances turned out very favourable to the British churches, by which they were protected from its fury:

these were the usurpation of *Carausius*, and the mild government of *Constantius*.

Carausius was by birth a Menapian, or a native of Menapia in Spain; and this is more probable than that he was from our Menapia, or Menevia, which has since gone under the name of St. David's. This man conducted himself with such valour, ability, and success, as to maintain himself in power for seven years. He governed Britain, in a manner which proved to the advantage of the inhabitants; suppressing the incursions of the rude and fierce Caledonians; and affording to the Christians the free exercise of their religion. The island was becoming independent of Rome, and the emperors were sensibly affected with the loss of it; but at the time their attention was occupied with the fierce enemies they had to contend with in other parts of the empire. Britain was much esteemed by the Romans for the fertility of the soil, its valuable mines, and its commodious harbours. Its resources must have been considerable to enable an usurper to maintain his power for so long a term; and he was no mean man who possessed the art and policy of securing the adherence both of the Britons and the Roman soldiery; and uniting them in firm compact to withstand the imperial authority. "Under his command," says Gibbon, "Britain, destined in a future age to obtain the empire of the sea, already assumed its natural and respectable station of a maritime power."*

Dioclesian and Maximian were constrained to acknowledge in him the independence of Britain, until Constantius, being appointed Cæsar, blocked up his fleet at Boulogne. In that enterprize he succeeded so well that a considerable part of the naval strength of *Carausius*

* Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. II.

was taken by him, and thus fell into the hands of the imperialists. While Constantius was preparing a fleet for the subjugation of Britain, Carausius was slain by the perfidious hand of his own friend and minister Alectus, who aspired to the dignity of his master, and enjoyed it for the space of three years. Asclepiodotus, to whom the charge of the expedition against Britain was committed, had the prudence to elude the observation of the British fleet under the command of Alectus, and made good his landing without the knowledge of that officer. Asclepiodotus met his antagonist, with whom he fought in the vicinity of London; when Alectus was defeated, and his body was found among the slain on the field of battle.

Thus Britain was once more brought under subjection to the Romans: but Constantius, by his mild and excellent regulations, soon gained the esteem of the inhabitants; and he became so attached to the country as to make it his residence. The persecution of the Christians was now at its height throughout the empire; only in Britain the moderation of Constantius abated its violence: but it has been considered as a subject not easily accounted for, that the Britons should in any degree be exposed to the storm. This is explained by adverting to the circumstance that the *Cæsar* was only vicegerent of the imperial court, and as such was entirely subject to the emperors. But in the year 304, upon the resignation of Dioclesian and Maximian, Constantius was exalted to the purple; and then he had full power to act according to the mildness and equity of his disposition, and to verify the character given of him that he never persecuted the Christians. There has been some disagreement among historians respecting the exact time when this great persecution commenced. It did not become general until the 17th year of Dioclesian; but previous

to that time Maximian had raised a grievous persecution in the East; and even Constantius persecuted the Christians in Spain and Gaul, out of compliance with the injunctions of the two emperors; and the enemies of the Christians stirred up the flame of persecution in Britain as soon as it was reduced after the revolt of Carausius and Alectus. As it was common to reproach the Christians with being the authors of every calamity which befel the empire, if they were considered as having a hand in the late rebellion, that might have afforded an additional pretext for the persecution. But as Constantius was not above two years in Britain before he was exalted to sovereign power, and as he never during his own reign persecuted the church, the Christians in Britain had but for a short space to drink of the bitter cup. Constantius terminated his days in this island, where his many virtues attracted the esteem of the inhabitants. He died in the city of York, called by the Romans *Eboracum*, and by the Britons *Cæc Eboroc*. Our countryman, Gildas, gives a tragical description of the persecution under Dioclesian and Maximian. He laments that the Christian religion had met with a cool reception in Britain; but there were some who retained the profession of it with fidelity until the time of this persecution. He proceeds to state, that the Christian churches throughout the world were overthrown; all the copies of the Holy Scriptures that could be laid hold of were burnt in the streets; and the pastors along with their flocks were put to death. In some places it would appear that every vestige of Christianity was about to be abolished; for it seemed, to use his language, as if the whole church was hastening at once to leave the world, and seek repose in the celestial regions, the proper habitation of the just. Such was the violence and rage of this dreadful persecution, and although the British

Christians escaped its greatest force, yet they were in some measure exposed to its desolating effects. Many suffered death; and others betook themselves into woods and desert places, to remain secure there until the storm abated: but only the names of three martyrs are recorded, and these were Roman citizens, and who appear to have been persons of note, on account of their situation and rank, as well as their zeal for religion. The one was Alban, a citizen of Verolam, which in after ages was in honour of the martyr called St. Alban's. The other two were Julius and Aaron of Isca Silurum, or Caerleon in Monmouthshire, where we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis there was a church dedicated in honour of each of them: but these must have been recently erected in his age, as there were regular monasteries annexed to them.*

The present parish church bears the name of Langattock; but whether it is built on the site of one of the three ancient churches mentioned by Giraldus cannot be determined. A wood on the opposite side of the river is still called St. Julian's; and the majestic ruins of a mansion, known by that name, was probably the situation of a monastery in ancient times. The village *Ultra Pontem* belongs to Christ Church on the hill, which commands a prospect of land and water, the most sublime and picturesque of any even in that beautiful and romantic country.

This town received a variety of names. *Caerleon*, or rather *Caerllion*, answers to the Roman appellation of *Urbs Legionum*; or, as we have it on the Roman

* The extent of this city in ancient times has, in all probability, been greatly exaggerated. As far as we can trace the old walls, it does not appear to have been larger than some of the present more respectable market towns in that country.

bricks found there, *Civitas Legionis II. Augustæ*. It was commonly called *Isca*, and *Isca Colonia*, among the Romans. In order to distinguish it from Exeter, which also was called *Isca*, it was denominated *Isca Silurum*. Its site on the banks of the Usk was the cause of that name; and among the Welsh it is called *Caerleon* on the Usk, to distinguish it from *Chester*, which they call *Caer*, and *Caerleon Gawr*, because of the idea they had in those days of the greatness of that city, from the walls of which we may judge of the importance attached to places now ranking only among towns of the second or third class. *Caerleon* was sometimes called *Isca Augusta*, because the Augustan legion was there stationed. This Silurian capital was probably much about the same dimensions as the ancient city of *Chester*, exclusive of its suburbs on the St. Julian's, or Christ church side of the river. The Roman prætor resided here, and had his *Palatium*, which, in all probability, was where the old mansion called the Lodge now stands. Here the courts were held for *Britannia Secunda*, and the imperial edicts were promulgated.

Mr. Cox, the tourist, essayed to take a survey of this ancient city, by tracing its form and size, which appeared to him to be oblong, inclining to a square, inclosing a circumference of 1800 yards, which is considerably less than that of *Chester*; but the Roman city must have had extensive suburbs. For an account of the antiquities of this Roman station, I refer to *Camden*, and to the different tourists.

Giraldus Cambrensis, archdeacon of Brecon, visited *Caerleon*, in making the tour of Wales with archbishop Baldwin, in the year 1180. At that time it was hastening to decay; but to the learned archdeacon it continued to display evident marks of former magnificence. He speaks of "its splendid palaces, which once emulated

with their gilded roofs the grandeur of Rome ; for it was originally built by the Roman princes, and adorned with stately edifices, a gigantic tower, numerous baths, ruins of temples and theatres, surrounded with walls which are, in part, still extant. Here we still see, *within* and *without the walls*, subterraneous buildings, aqueducts, vaulted caverns, and stoves so artfully constructed as to convey their heat through secret and imperceptible pores."

The venerable tourist then speaks of its Christian antiquities :—

" Here lie two illustrious, and next to *Alban* and *Amphibalus*, the two most celebrated proto-martyrs of Britain, Julius and Aaron, of whom both had a church within the city, dedicated to their memory ; for, in former ages, it contained three fine churches : the first was that of Julius, adorned with a convent of Franciscan friars, devoted to the *Virgin Deity* ; the second, that of his holy associate *Aaron*, and illustrious for its order of regular canons ; the third was at one time the metropolitan church of all Cambria."

Alban is said to have been a person of considerable rank, descended from Roman ancestors, and an officer under the Roman government. While yet a Heathen, he received under his roof a Christian teacher, who was newly come from abroad, but is represented as belonging to the city of Isca Silurum, or Caerleon. The *British Chronicles* have given this holy man the name of Amphibalus, which perhaps arose from a mere blunder, as that word denotes an upper garment ; for neither Gildas nor Bede furnish us with his name. This Christian remained for some time in the house of Alban, as in a secure retreat ; and there, by his pious conversation and devout deportment, he became the means of converting his host to the Christian faith. But he could not long

be concealed there; it became known that Alban had secreted a Christian in his house, and officers were dispatched to apprehend the stranger. The illustrious citizen refused to deliver up his guest, and preferred exposing himself in his stead; he was accordingly taken up, and brought before the judge, who was at the time engaged in celebrating what were esteemed Divine rites, making some offering to the objects of Heathen superstition. Enraged that Alban should be attached to the cause of Christianity, he orders him instantly to renounce that religion, and to adore the gods of the Empire; threatening him with immediate punishment if he refused, as a contemner of the public established solemnities, and a harbourer of the rebellious and the sacrilegious. Alban, who could not be intimidated, refused to perform Divine rites to the Heathen gods, and boldly professed himself to be a Christian, and a worshipper of the only true and living God, the Creator of all things. Orders were then given to scourge him: but his invincible fortitude could not be overcome by torture, and sentence of death was passed upon him.

But the Saxon Bede, and his authorities, could not be satisfied without adorning truth with fiction: we have, therefore, a marvellous account of certain miraculous circumstances said to have attended the last moments of the martyr. The place of execution was out of the town, and the river must be crossed in order to come to it. But the crowd of people, it seems, who flocked to be spectators of the execution, was so great, and the ardour of the martyr to seal the truth with his blood so intense, that the bridge, being too confined for the vast multitude to pass, he lifted up his eyes to heaven; and, in answer to his prayers, the waters divided, and an open passage was made for the multitude to go over.

This miracle, the account adds, so affected the execu-

tioner, that, throwing aside his sword, which he held ready drawn, he fell at the martyr's feet, requesting that he might either die in his stead, or suffer with him. By the time they reached the summit of the hill where the execution was to take place, the martyr being athirst, a fountain sprung up, in answer to his prayers, to refresh him, and then sunk back into the earth. Alban soon received the stroke of death, and his noble spirit was crowned with immortality and glory. The soldier who refused to perform the executioner's part was himself condemned to death, and he who executed the sentence was struck with blindness.

Such is the account we have of our British proto-martyr, as it is amplified in the narrative of Bede. In Gildas we have nothing of the miraculous spring, and the judgment of God on the executioner. Superstition and credulity had made some progress from the age of Gildas to the days of Bede. Weak and credulous as the British Christians were in the days of the former, they were but mean adepts in the art of fictitious embellishment. In the course of another century there was room for further improvements; and, in proportion as the simple memorials of genuine history were lost or obscured, fiction was to supply the room of truth for the edification of the church.

Many Christians, of both sexes, received the crown of martyrdom, although their names are not mentioned. As to *Julius*, or *Julian*, before-mentioned, and *Aaron*, whether they were of Roman or British descent cannot be determined. The former is perhaps the same as *Sulien*, to whom some of our churches are dedicated. The other martyr, called *Aaron*, should perhaps more properly be named *Caran*, or *Garan*, for Jewish names seldom prevailed among the ancient Christians. These were, in all

probability, two of the pastors of the church, and perhaps one of them the very person who was the guest of Alban at Verolamium. That holy man, to whom the *British Chronicle*, as we have before seen, gives the name of Amphibalus, is said both to have been a resident of *Isca Silurum*, and to have resorted there after his escape from Verolam. He, by his zealous endeavours, confirmed many of the languishing Christians in the faith, and gained over several new converts: hence arose the legend of the thousand martyrs.

The following appears like the many marvellous tales invented by the Romish monks: That a number of Christians went in search of Amphibalus, to the west, and found him engaged in preaching to the unconverted Britons. This zealous multitude were determined upon bringing this famous teacher of Christianity back again to Verolamium; but, before he and them were permitted to enter the city, they were all put to death. The number of those who thus suffered are said to be no less than one thousand. But, besides this, the same round number of persons are mentioned as suffering on account of their religion in some part of Wales. But as the storm soon blew over, and it does not appear that it raged with any great violence in this island, the accounts which speak of such a host of martyrs must be considered as utterly fabulous, the device of the monks of the middle ages. This persecution, in all probability, extended only to a few of the most zealous professors of Christianity. What confirms this is, that in those old Welsh fragments of the British saints and martyrs, we have no account of any who suffered in the Dioclesian persecution; and, by every thing which we can find, the Roman citizens were the only sufferers. The native Britons were still under the government of their own

princes, and left to follow their own domestic regulations, provided they acknowledged themselves subject to the supreme rule of the Romans.

We have before observed that, first of all, owing to the usurpations of Carausius and Alectus, the British church escaped the provincial persecutions raised by Galerius; and then, owing to the mildness of Constantius, the storm never raged violently here. In Spain and Gaul the persecution raged to that degree that the emperors flattered themselves they had utterly extirpated the Christian religion, as appears by certain monuments, the inscriptions on which are preserved in Gruterus, containing these words:—*NOMINE CHRISTIANORUM DELETO*; upon another, *SUPERSTITIONE CHRISTI UBIQUE DELETA*. When Constantius attained the imperial dignity, the persecution was immediately put a stop to in the western provinces: this good prince, during the two years in which he enjoyed the supreme power, proved a father to the Britons, and the Christian church among them. Their places of worship, under his auspices, were rebuilt, after being laid waste during the persecution, and the Christians who had given way to their weakness, and their fears in the hour of temptation, now resumed their courage, and made open profession of their religion.

Constantius contented himself with the name of Emperor, and refused the actual government of Italy and Africa, taking Britain and the adjoining parts of the Continent under his administration. He was a prince of many excellencies; he lived with little ostentation, and did not apply the public revenues to support private extravagance, and that not from a principle of parsimony, but from his love of moderation. As he ruled with clemency, he died much lamented by his British subjects. He was interred at York, where he died, and which he had made his residence.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the British Church during the Fourth Century.

*Government of Constantine—Arianism—Monachism—
Low State of Religion.*

WHILE the Emperor Constantius lay ill at York, his son Constantine, who had been watched over very narrowly by the family of Maximian, made his escape from Rome, and arrived in Britain before the death of his father, by whom he was declared his successor in the western empire. The army in Britain approved of the choice which Constantius made of his illustrious son to succeed him; and therefore on his death Constantine was, without hesitation, proclaimed emperor. Maximian shewed a disposition to oppose the election of Constantine, out of regard to his own family: but he durst not refuse to send him the imperial purple.

Historians and antiquaries are not agreed respecting the native country, and the mother of Constantine the Great. British tradition considers him as a native of this country; and affirms that his mother Helena was the daughter of *Coil*, one of our native chieftains, who, on account of his descent, is numbered among the titular kings of Britain. But it has been denied that either his mother was a British lady, or that he was born in Britain. Archbishop Usher has investigated the subject

very minutely; and I shall state the result of what the learned primate has said.

A passage in Eumenius, the rhetorician, has been cited to prove that Britain gave birth to this great prince—*O! happy Britain, now blest beyond every country in that thou first beholdest Constantine Cæsar*. This place is, with propriety, applied to mean that the writer of it congratulated this island as fortunate, in having the honour to give birth to so great a prince. As to the interpretation that this was the country where he was created Cæsar (a title of dignity next to the imperial) by his dying father, that prince had received the honour before he at that time came over to Britain; and therefore the words of the orator would rather apply to Gaul; Constantine being made Cæsar some time before his father's death, as is shewn from Eusebius. One of the panegyrists of this emperor compliments him, "that whereas his father Constantius had liberated Britain from slavery, (that is, from the domination of the usurpers,) he had enobled that island by originating from it."

Not only our British chronicle, but all the best of our old writers, agree in this; and even Polydore Virgil, though an Italian, affirms that Constantine was born in Britain, of a British mother; and that, as he was made emperor in Britain, he made his native country to partake of his own glory. The British legates also in the councils of Constance, and of Basil, as one point of honour in favour of their country, pleaded that it was the land which gave birth to Constantine the Great; affirming that he was born at York.

The enemies of Constantine, it is true, upbraided him with being the fruit of an illicit commerce. Julian confidently asserted that he was born of an ignoble woman, on the borders of Persia, when his father was deputed

to enforce the payment of the taxes there; and Zosimus says the same.

Mr. Gibbon agrees with those who hold that Constantine was born at Naisus in Dacia: but Camden has made it pretty clear that the passage in Julius Firmicus, to which we are referred for the establishment of that point, is corrupted; and that where we read **CONSTANTINE** we should read **CONSTANTIUS**, his son, who was born at *Naisus*. The passage will then stand thus:—*Dominus et Augustus noster ac totius orbis Imperator, Pius, Felix, et providus princeps, CONSTANTIUS scilicet Maximus, Divi Constantini filius augustæ et venerandæ memoriæ principis ——— apud Naisum genitus.*

After all there is no clear evidence, all circumstances considered, that Britain was the native country of either Constantine the Great, or his mother. As to what the chronicle says, it is but a heap of confusion, in affirming that Constantius married Helena, the daughter of *Coil*, a mighty chieftain, and that Constantine was the fruit of that marriage; whereas at that time he was already married to Theodora, the daughter of Maximian, for his second wife; having repudiated Helena, his first wife, when he was exalted to the imperial dignity. Constantius's residence was but a few years in Britain; and his son Constantine was of mature age at the death of his father; he must, therefore, have been born long before his settlement in this country. There is, therefore, sufficient cause to doubt what has been so confidently advanced on this subject.

Britain was, in this age, become a flourishing country, to which several illustrious characters had shewn themselves partial. Its soil being properly cultivated, yielded abundance of corn; it produced fine cattle, and abounded in the finest fruits, introduced originally by the Romans. It could not boast of those delicacies to

which warmer climates are more congenial; but it was not deficient in any productions requisite for the comfort of life. The military and civil officers of the imperial government adorned its towns with sumptuous buildings; theatres, temples, baths, and various public edifices, raised their stately heads, while the Roman citizens made it their study to induce the principal native families to give up their own simple modes of living, in order to follow the manners of their conquerors. The great military roads facilitated communication; the harbours were improved, and rendered commodious; and a variety of British productions were dispersed over the Continent, or sent to the great capital.

How different was the state of Britain at this period to what it was when discovered by Cæsar, or even immediately after the conquests of Suetonius and Agricola. The British townsmen, now throwing off their rustic dresses, assumed the Roman gown or toga, and decorated themselves like their Italian masters; disdaining the plaided dress of the mountain Briton, who still roamed over his native wilds, priding himself in his hardihood, and tenaciously adhering to the rustic habits of other times, when Britons called their country their own, free and unsubdued. The ingenious and interesting author of the *History of Manchester*, B. 1. c. 7. s. 5. gives us a lively description of the difference between the British and the Roman dress. The pertinent remarks of that author are here subjoined: "A body of men just emerging from a state of real or supposed barbarism, and adopting the refinements of their neighbours, will scarcely ever proceed with a sober and sensible discrimination. The association of vicious with refined manners is easily avoidable in speculation. And yet it was never escaped in practice. The city-chiefs, copying the politeness of the Romans, copied also those wretched

accompaniments of it : indulgences which unbraced the body; and softnesses which unmanned the mind. The robust and hardy Briton, whose nerves had been strung with the healthful energy of toil, now repaired to the springs of Buxton or Bath, and stewed in the relaxing waters. And that frivolous spirit of gallantry and indolence, which annually crowds both those places at present, had its commencement at this period. He whose blood had been purified by a healthful simplicity of diet, now imitated the elegance of the Roman tables. And he, whose range was the forest and the mountain, constructed porticos on pillars, and affected the luxury of an airy saunter in a walk of state."

"These, however," adds our elegant antiquary, "are striking evidences of the speedy growth of civility, and the rapid progress of politeness; of a civility which must have been more and more widely diffused; and of a politeness which must have been considerably refined through the long course of subsequent ages. In all these improvements, the mind would necessarily share. The sons of the chiefs were now taught to expand their views beyond the circle of a hunting life, and the details of traditionary history; and to enlarge their minds with acquisitions of knowledge. Their connexion with the Romans put into their hands the great volume of human literature, the history of man, and the assemblage of the sciences: and they determined to read it. The difficulties of the Roman language gradually sunk before them; and the unknown worlds of science lay open to their view. They entered, seized the literary treasures of antiquity; and, for the first time, introduced them into the regions of Britain. Nor did they rest here. The luxury of study, and the pride of intellect, soon led the new votaries of learning from the useful to the ornamental and pleasing branches of literature. They in-

vaded the fairy regions of classical taste ; they studied the purity of the Roman language ; and they cultivated the graces of Roman composition."

The Romans carried on various manufactures in Britain. They would soon discover our mines of iron and copper : and the tin mines of Cornwall had long been celebrated, being the grand staple of commerce with the Greeks and the Phœnicians. Traces of ancient forges have been observed in some spots : but on this subject it would be absurd to entertain any doubts ; for a civilized people could never attain to the various refinements, both of domestic comfort, and of public works, without the use of iron implements.

The Britons, in a rude way, practised the occupation of the potter before the Roman conquest : but all the refinements of Campania were introduced by the Romans ; and, from some antiquities of that kind found in Lancashire, it appears that they had excellent artists. The Britons from them learned to model their vessels with the lathe ; to glaze and to embellish them with curious figures. The fragments of Roman urns found in various places have been admired by the moderns for the fineness of the enamel, and the excellent temper of the materials. But as in Greece and Italy this art was carried to so high a pitch, we are not to be surprized that the Romans introduced their elegant taste into their important province in this island.

As the manufacture of glass was carried on in Gaul and Spain, as early as the reign of Tiberius, according to Pliny, there can be little doubt that the same art was introduced into Britain. The Romans, at one time, had carried their improvements so far as to make vessels of greater value than the finest porcelain. Pliny has a curious chapter on this head in his *Natural History*, B. xxxvi. c. 26.

The Gauls and Britons had their brass founderies; although, before the coming of the Romans, the latter generally imported their brass, as it was cheaper than iron on the Continent; and they could furnish the Gaulish merchants with their valuable commodity of iron. Their want of skill in fusing it, and afterwards giving it a proper temper, might be the cause of brass being more generally used. It is said, that necessity is the mother of invention; but it may be also said that luxury is the parent of refinement in the mechanic arts: and the improvements introduced by Roman elegance must have been greatly superior to the skill of the old Britons, in tempering metals, and converting them to every purpose of use and ornament.

Great improvements were introduced by the Romans in the useful art of husbandry and horticulture; vast tracts were brought into cultivation, and richly rewarded their toil. As the Roman soldiers had portions allotted to each, and it was the peculiar occupation of the veterans to attend to husbandry for their support, this excellent plan would bring the country into general cultivation, and stimulate the native Britons to shake off their indolent habits, and to use both art and labour to elicit the riches of their soil.

The vine was cultivated in Britain by the Romans, and with as great success at least as in the climes of Gaul and Germany, which were considered among the ancients unsuitable for growing them. Tacitus, indeed, observes, that the vine and the olive did not thrive here, as requiring a warmer climate, although he praises the general fertility of the soil. But as Bede makes mention of vineyards in his age, there can be little doubt that the juice of the vine and the apple were both attended to by the Roman-Britons.

Britain was, therefore, become an important province

at the period when Constantine assumed the purple. From an emperor who first received the imperial title in this country the British province might expect the most favourable treatment.

Constantine secured to the Christians the free exercise of their religion, being always friendly to them, even before he publicly embraced that religion himself, which he did after he overcame his rivals in the empire. The persecution was still carried on by Galerius, in the East, for some time after the accession of Constantine; but at the death of that tyrant the Christians were freed from the outrage of their enemies, except that Licinius, the colleague of Constantine, occasionally manifested a disposition unfriendly to the Christians.

The church in Britain now began to raise its head. "From this time," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "we may date the flourishing condition of this church, which before must labour under great difficulties; the governors of provinces before Constantius, and the generality of the people, being set against Christianity. But the first evidence we meet with, according to the bishop, of the settled state of the British churches, is the number of bishops which went from Britain to the council at *Arles*, held in the year 314. We find the names of three British bishops subscribed to the acts of that council: *EBORIUS* (*Ebor*, or *Ivor*, a name not uncommon among the Britons,) Bishop of York; *RESTITUTUS* (*Rystyd*), Bishop of London; and *ADELPHUS* (or *Brawdol*), Bishop of *Colonia Londinensium*, as the name generally appears, but which is supposed to be corrupted.* What place

* The signatures were, according to Usher, from the Concil. Galliæ, edit. Paris. 1629:—*Eborius Episcopus, de Civitate Eboracensi, Provincia Brit. Restitutus Episcopus, de Civitate Londinensi, Provincia suprscr. Adelphus Episcopus, de Civitate Colonia Londinensium, exinde Sacerdos Presbyter, Arminius Diaconus.* A mistake in the trans-

this last was has been greatly disputed: Archbishop Usher took it for *Colchester*; and Sir Henry Spelman for *Camalodunum*; (which some make to be the same place, others *Maldon* in Essex); it has been supposed also that *Lincoln* may have been the place referred to. But Bishop Stillingfleet, from the consideration that one prelate went from each of the three provinces, conjectures that the third signature was for *Isca Silurum*, or *Caerleon*, as the capital of *BRITANNIA SECUNDA*; the other two representing *BRITANNIA PRIMA* and *MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS*, there being but three provinces at that time, *FLAVIA* not being yet given as the name of the fourth province.

The custom was to send a bishop and two presbyters to a council; and thus the proportion from Britain would be three. There were as yet no archbishops and metropolitans; none at least among the British clergy.

About this time, or soon after, it has been conjectured that diocesan bishops were settled in most, if not in all the principal cities: but if we may judge from the low state in which the British church appears a century after this time, when *Garmon* and *Lupus* came over, it does not appear that dioceses were formed until after their arrival. Upon the supposition that the Empress *Helena* was a Briton, it is conjectured that Constantine would display some partiality to the native land of his mother, if it were not his own. But admitting that, still the sunshine of royal favour tended but little to the real prosperity of the Christian church in Britain, any more than in other countries.

In the year 325 the Emperor Constantine convoked the famous council of Nice; to which all the bishops

script of the subscription would change *Civitat. Col. Log. II. into Civitat. Col. Londin.*

throughout the various provinces were summoned to send their representatives. As the emperor's injunction was very express, requiring a general convocation of the clergy, it is inferred, although we have no positive proof, that some of the British clergy, as well as their neighbours from Gaul and Spain, must have been there. Many regulations were adopted: but the principal design of this council was to condemn the Arians, and to establish the orthodox faith. The famous creed drawn up at Nice has been considered as one of the bulwarks of the church, in defence of the Catholic doctrine, or that generally received, respecting the Divine Nature; and especially the Eternal Divinity of the Son, who is here spoken of as, "the only begotten Son of God; begotten of the Father before all worlds: God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God: begotten, not made; being of one substance with the Father: by whom all things were made —" *

This creed appears to be a paraphrase of the Apostle's creed; and in a most succinct and luminous manner sets forth the scriptural doctrine respecting the three distinct hypostases in the Great Supreme. In the confession, known by the name of the Athanasian creed, an attempt is made with metaphysical nicety to explain that awfully mysterious doctrine, by introducing definitions and explanations; which have been objected to by some well-meaning scrupulous persons, as entering too far into a subject beyond our comprehension.

The grand point which the fathers at Nice wished to establish was the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son; professing their belief respecting each of the

* — τὸν ὅτιον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γενηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· ἐγενήθηεντα, ἡ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοῦσιον τῷ Πατρὶ· δι' αὐτὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· κ. τ. λ.

Divine Hypostases, or Persons, partaking equally of the Divine Nature. In opposition to the Arian doctrine of the Son being created, it is here stated that he was *not created, but begotten, before all worlds*, that is, from eternity.

The Nicean fathers considered the Son, or second Divine Person, as existing from eternity with the Father; and, therefore, to be worshipped as God, in conjunction with the Father and the Holy Ghost: they could not conceive any stronger expression to declare their sense of His Divinity, without making one Divine Person to be God, independently of the other Two Persons.*

If we had positive historical evidence of the British clergy being present at the council of Nice, their subscribing to the confession of Faith, drawn up there, would tend to exculpate them from the charge of Arianism, which Gildas has brought against them. Little doubt can be entertained as to some of them attending that council; but unfavourable inferences have been drawn from their being present at the council of *Ariminum*, or *Rimini*, where a confession was admitted which leaned to the Arian side. This subject is worthy of investigation.

Gildas, after describing the tranquil and happy state

* Bishop Bull has immortalized his name by his defence of the Nicean creed. Bishop Horsley most ably vindicated the Catholic Faith against the attacks of Dr. Priestley; and his amiable and learned successor, in the see of St. David's, Bishop Burgess, has stepped forward, with the zeal of a primitive father, to vindicate the Truth in opposition to the restless spirit of Socinianism. I would observe it as rather remarkable, that three distinguished prelates of the same diocese should thus form a triad of divines, celebrated for their defence of the Catholic Faith. We have also a strenuous defender of orthodoxy in Mr. Whitaker, whose profound treatise on the origin of Arianism displays the usual erudition and talent of research of that great man.

of the church in Britain, now that the storm of persecution was over, informs us in a most doleful strain that the first thing which tended to interrupt this prosperous state of things was the diffusion of the venom of Arianism. This heresy, by some means or other, was brought over to Britain; and, according to Gildas, was productive of the most pernicious effects; inflaming the British Christians with the most bitter animosities. "A passage being thus made over the ocean," says Gildas, "every other wild beast, who carried the venom of any heresy in his mouth, easily instilled it into the people of this country, who are ever unsettled in their opinions, and always fond of hearing something new."

The latter part of this charge seems to refer to the introduction of Pelagianism, which was preceded by the *mortiferum virus* of Arianism. But Dr. Henry has taken some pains to vindicate the Britons from this charge brought against them by Gildas and Bede. He gives the summary of all that can be advanced in their favour; and, therefore, does his best to invalidate the testimony of our two ancient historians. The Doctor, after inveighing against poor old Gildas, which has become very fashionable among some of our modern historians, affirms, that he represents our ancestors as deeply infected with Arianism, and every other heresy, *without much ground*. "The opinions of Arius had been condemned with so much solemnity by the famous council of Nice, A. D. 325, (at which it is very probable the bishops of Britain were present) and had been so firmly opposed by Constantine and his son Constans, that they made little progress for a long while in the western provinces of the Roman empire." It is true, indeed, as the Doctor admits, "that at the council of *Ariminum*, A. D. 359, which was called by the Emperor Constantius, who favoured the Arian party, almost all

the bishops of the west, who were there assembled to the number of four hundred, and amongst others *those of Britain*, subscribed a creed which differed *a little* from that of the council of Nice. But this appears to be the effect of mere force. For at the beginning of the council they unanimously declared their approbation of the Nicean creed, and pronounced anathemas against the errors of Arius; and after their return to their respective dioceses they renewed their former declarations in favour of the faith of Nice, and renounced their involuntary subscriptions at Ariminum as soon as they could do it with safety." This the learned historian considers as a certain proof, that the opinions of Arius had, as yet, made little or no progress among the clergy in the western empire; "though it also shews, that the spirit of enduring persecution was very much abated." St. Athanasius and the bishops assembled in the council of Antioch, A. D. 363, assure the Emperor Jovian, that "the bishops of SPAIN, GAUL, and BRITAIN, continued to adhere to the faith of the council of NICE, of which they had been informed by letters from those bishops. Both St. Jerom and St. Chrysostom, speak often of the orthodoxy of the British church in their writings."

Let Doctor Henry's arguments have all the weight they are entitled to they can only prove, with respect to our country, that the most eminent of the clergy were sound in the Catholic Faith; and we are ready to admit that they, with several others at the council of Ariminum, did not sign the articles which were designed to corrupt the Nicean confession, until recourse was had to those threats which induced them reluctantly to comply with a peremptory injunction from the imperial court.

But it should be remembered that the decision of this council aimed a deadly blow at the vitals of that essential

article, the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, which had been so clearly set forth by the representatives of almost all the Christian world assembled at Nice. The pliability of the orthodox bishops at Ariminum was, therefore, a subject of great lamentation to the Catholics; and proved a cause of triumph to the Arians. Hence Jerom exclaims that the *Homoousia* was there abolished; and the Nicene Faith was then cried down and condemned. The great point on which the controversy depended was given up. That, in consequence of the triumph of Arianism on that occasion, the seed which might previous to this have been sown in Britain would be fostered and cause disputes, carries no improbability with it; and Gildas states the fact that Arianism was brought over, and many infected by it. How it could ever come into Gildas's head, that the British church had been tainted with Arianism, if there were no grounds for the charge, I cannot conceive: but it is possible that the language of Gildas may be too highly coloured; that his words are stronger than what the real state of the case would warrant. Dr. Henry has not, however, disproved the existence of the fact, notwithstanding his severe reprehension of our old *querulous historian*, whose mind, although soured by what he had witnessed and felt in his own turbulent age, was not capable of bringing such a charge against his countrymen, without some just cause for it.

With respect to the testimony of Jerom, and that of Chrysostom, it is pleasing to find that the British church was not generally overrun with the Arian heresy; but although the heads of the church were sound, it does not prove but that several among both clergy and laity were not in some measure infected with it. Archbishop Usher has treated this subject with his usual impartiality; and states, that although Athanasius testifies the

orthodoxy of the bishops of Britain, as well as those of Spain and Gaul, and their consent to the Nicean confession, yet he supposes that Arianism found its way into Britain previous to the year 383, the year in which Maximus was proclaimed emperor by the soldiery of this island. Gratian and Valentinian sided with the Arians; and the former issued an edict to the churches of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, directing the free exercise of faith and worship to be granted to the various contending sects. Such an edict implies that disputes existed in those western churches; and as this contagion extended to all parts of Christendom, it is not to be supposed that our fickle and wavering islanders had alone escaped its baneful influence.

It has been generally supposed that, during the reign of Constantine the Great, the Christian Religion took deep root in Britain, and shared the royal patronage in common with other provinces of the empire. The British Christians improved in the external splendour, which marked the progress of religion, during this sunshine of its prosperity: the edifices appropriated for public worship were rendered decorous, and perhaps had a degree of magnificence suited to the established religion of the empire; and the clergy were treated with respect, and dignified with the notice of great men. But the Hierarchy which flourished in other countries, under the fostering wing of imperial favour, did not meet with a soil so congenial in this island; and it is not easy to decide whether a regular diocesan church government obtained here during this century. There were bishops, it is true, in several of the great towns and cities; but these were not yet loaded with temporal honours, and large revenues. We may form some conjecture respecting their situation, from what is related of the British bishops at the council of Ariminum;

for while all the others bore their own expences they alone accepted of the emperor's bounty, and had their charges defrayed at the public cost.

The church was exposed to new dangers in the season of external prosperity. Conformity to the world, which now smiled upon it, began to have a most injurious effect upon both clergy and laity. The simplicity of religion was debased by being loaded with pompous ceremonies, under the specious pretext of thereby gaining over the heathen to embrace the Cross of Christ. Men, who were strangers to the inward power of religion, found a substitute in outward forms. A great diversity of rites were introduced into Divine worship; and almost every province had something peculiar to itself, which in process of time became the fertile source of violent contentions. The poverty of the British churches was perhaps the means of preserving them in some measure from running into the excess of other churches. But if our countrymen had not departed from primitive simplicity, so far as the churches of Italy and the east, yet they wanted not their share of superstition. Among the numbers who travelled to Jerusalem to visit our Saviour's grave, over which the mother of Constantine built a sumptuous church, there were several of the Britons. Some of them are also enumerated among those pilgrims who travelled into Syria to visit that celebrated fanatic Simon Stylites, who received that name on account of his living on the top of a high pillar. He is said to have lived thirty-seven years in that extraordinary manner. "Many people," says Theodoret, "came to see him from the remotest corners of the west, particularly from Spain, Gaul, and Britain."

Some authors have affirmed that the monastic life was introduced into this country before the conclusion of this century. But monachism does not appear to have

prevailed much here before the ensuing century. This kind of institution began to be adopted in Italy and Gaul during the fourth century; and in the latter country Martin of Tours was a great promoter of the monastic discipline.

“Monkery,” says Bishop Lloyd, “began in the eastern parts, as all the antients agree; and even there it was not until the time of Dioclesian’s persecution.” But what had its rise in a time of persecution and distress, was afterwards adopted from choice; on account of its supposed tendency to wean the affections from this world, and to promote holiness and heavenly mindedness. Hence many betook themselves into deserts and solitary situations to spend their time there, at a distance from human society, to be free both from the allurements and the cares of the world.

This disposition prevailed greatly in Syria and in Egypt, where the monks of St. Anthony soon gained celebrity; for he was the first who formed regular communities in that way, and laid down rules for the direction of their conduct. The whole east in a short time was filled with a set of men who, abandoning all human connexions and concerns, wore out a languishing life amidst the hardships of want and various kinds of suffering, in order to arrive at a more close communion with God!

The monastic order was distributed into two distinct classes, of which one received the denomination of *Cenobites*, the other that of *Eremites*. The former lived together, and made up one large community, under a chief whom they called *father* or *abbot*, which signifies the same thing in the Egyptian language. The latter drew out a wretched life in perfect solitude; and were scattered here and there in caves, in deserts, in the hollows of rocks, sheltered from the wild beasts only by the cover

of a miserable cottage, in which each one lived sequestered from the rest of his species.

This kind of life had been adopted previous to the Christian æra, by many of the heathen devotees, or contemplative persons; and is in great vogue among the Hindus and Mohammedans of the east to the present day. W. Maurice, in his *Indian antiquities*, has given a most dismal account of the Hindu penitents.

But these Eremites are to be distinguished from such characters as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, and *Jerome*, who retired from the noise of the world for the purpose of devoting themselves to learning and piety.

From the east the monastic life was brought into Italy. "From Italy, more especially from Milan, it was brought into France by the famous St. Martin, who seated himself first near Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, and was afterwards made Bishop of Tours. He founded a monastery about two miles from that city, according to Sulpicius Severus, who has described this form of monastic life; and from whom it appears that his success was so great during his life time, that near two thousand monks were present at his funeral. From this plantation of St. Martin's in France no doubt it was," observes the learned bishop, "that monkery came over first into these islands."—B. Lloyd's *Historical Account*, p. 154.

Towards the middle of this century Kebius (St. Keby or Kybi), the son of Solomon, king of Cornwall, flourished. After living a life of study and piety for twenty years at home, he went into France, where he continued for a considerable time with the venerable Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. "There," as an old author says, "he laid himself out in every sort of attention to the bishop, in order to procure his good opinion. At last he obtained from him that ordination on which his soul was so strongly bent; and was even in proper time afterwards

consecrated bishop by him." He continued to reside at Poitiers as the assistant of the good bishop, until the death of that holy man, in consequence of which event he returned home. About A. D. 864 the troubles of the times, and the awful state of his family, induced Kebius once more to quit his native country, although he was heir to the Cornish sovereignty. His brother Melyan was murdered by a near relation, and his nephew was also destroyed by the same spirit of unnatural ambition. These dismal events obliged him to abandon the land of his fathers, and migrate to a distant clime. He first made his way to that port in Wales, since then called St. David's. Here he did not continue; but crossed the channel to Ireland, where he is said to have taken up his residence for four years. It is probable, from that circumstance, Christianity had been planted in Ireland, as Kebius does not appear to have migrated for the purpose of converting heathens to Christianity, but rather to seek a place of repose and devout retirement on a small island where he erected an oratory.

Being probably disturbed in the secluded spot of which he had made choice, he removed to the opposite coast, and fixed his seat near the western promontory of Anglesea, called *Holyhead*, or, as the Welsh term it, *Cor Gybi*; that is, the choir of St. Kybi, or Keby, a name given to the place from the institution of a religious nature there first established by this saint. "There," says Leland, "he fixed his abode; and a humble one at first: but the prince of the island, in pity to the pooriness of it, liberally presented him with a castle, which stood in the very vicinity. In consequence of this donation, a small monastery was formed within the castle, which was afterwards called from his name, *Caer Keby*, or Keby's castle. At this time," subjoins Leland, "(in the

reign of Henry VIII.) it has canons or prebendaries in it; and exerts a pleasing hospitality to persons passing over to Ireland."

As to the name of the spot, it may have been called both *Côr Kybi*, and *Caer Gybi*; the one referring to its religious appropriation, and the other to an ancient fort erected there.

While *Keby* lived at the *Head*, a holy man of the name of *Sciriol* spent his time in a similar manner, at the eastern extremity of the island, on a small islet called *Priestholm*, near *Beaumaris*. These two saints used to hold weekly meetings at a place called *Clorach*, near the town of *Llanerch y medd*. "From the circumstance of *Sciriol's* travelling westward in the morning, and eastward in the evening; and *Keby*, on the contrary, always facing the sun; they were denominated

"*Sciriol wyn a Chybi feilyn*,"

"*Sciriol the fair, and Keby the tawny*."

These saints are erroneously stated by Mr. Owen to have lived in the sixth century instead of the fourth.—See Whitaker's *Cornwall*, Vol. II. p. 38. 56. and Usher p. 411, and Rowland's *Mona*.

Hilary, Bishop of *Poitiers*, was a zealous advocate for the Catholic Faith; and he appears to have had considerable intercourse with the churches of Britain. He wrote some treatises in confutation of the Arian doctrine.

There were a few more excellent characters, both in Gaul and Britain, though many parts of Britain were but dimly enlightened during this century; and Christianity was far from being generally established throughout the island. The regions of *Caledonia* were hardly yet visited by the Light of the Gospel; and this will appear more evident in pursuing the history of the following century.

From the time of *Maximus* the Roman Britons were

continually annoyed with the inroads of their enemies, who lived in the parts of the island unsubdued by the Romans. The native ferocity of these clans, their rooted enmity to the Romans, and their love of plunder, instigated them to distress the provincials. Hordes of Irish also infested the coasts of Wales; and some of them settled in different places. These disastrous events, along with the dissensions among the Britons themselves, tended to bring the churches into a very distressing state; so that by the beginning of the following century the cause of Christianity was greatly on the decline; and heathenism was gaining ground among a people much addicted to superstitious practices, and with difficulty brought to submit to the yoke of the Gospel.

Druidism, although formally proscribed by the Romans, and opposed by Christianity, was still adhered to in the secluded parts of the country, while even too many who professed the true religion were more Heathens than Christians at heart. We cannot find there were any men of a truly apostolic spirit in this age, who nobly stood up in behalf of the gospel; and like burning luminaries diffused the knowledge and practice of its benign religion among their countrymen.

Those among the Britons, who were enrolled among the Roman citizens, and acquired the language and the literature of the empire, which was now nominally Christian, were possessed of many advantages over those who still remained under the more immediate government of their own princes. The latter enjoyed but little cultivation, either in civil or religious matters; and it is doubtful whether they had yet the word of God among them in their native language, if they had any Christian worship at all, except among the Silurian Britons.

Our accounts of the state of religion in Britain, during this age, are very confused; and there is reason to think

that even the forms of Christianity were not generally adopted within the province. The luxury and the heathen propensities of the Roman Britons, and the rude fierceness of the natives, presented very powerful obstacles to the spread of the religion of Christ. The religious characters of the age were more disposed to flee from the world than to combat its vices and its errors, and bear an open testimony for the truth of Christ. Such were Kebius, and others.

Mr. Whitaker has been very severe on Dr. Borlase, because the latter gentleman supposes Christianity to have been introduced at a later period into Cornwall than into some other parts of South Britain; and that it met with so obstinate an opposition from the inveterate propensity of the people to the Druid superstition, that it was with great difficulty it took root at all. Mr. Whitaker has removed some chronological errors of the Doctor; but there appears too much truth in the affirmations of that author. It may be admitted that Solomon the Regent, or Lord of Cornwall, was nominally a Christian; and we see that his son Kebius was a zealous Christian in his way;—but why should he leave his native land to go and live at Poitiers in France, if Christianity were not in a low state at home? The dismal tragedy acted in the family of Kebius shews how little Christianity there was in Cornwall in that age, and how slender its influence. As Kebius renounced royalty, his brother Melian became King of Cornwall. Melor was the son of Melian; and Haurilla, the daughter of Rivold, and born in Devonshire, was the mother of St. Melor. Rivold, son of that Rivold, and the brother of Haurilla, became the murderer of his brother Melian, and the invader of Cornwall: he deprived his nephew Melor of one foot and one hand. This Melor had been brought up in a monastery; he, at the suggestion of his

uncle Rivold, was murdered by his own foster-father, Cerealtine.*

Such a complication of villanies meeting in the murder of Melor, the son of a king, and a king himself in consequence of the death of his father, and a Christian, as bred up in a monastery, induced, says Whitaker, the Christians of Cornwall, his and his father's subjects, to consider him as a martyr in their minds, and to rank him as a martyr in their calendars. There are many similar instances in British history, of innocent sufferers being ranked among the martyrs, and canonized as saints, although they bore no particular testimony on behalf of religion. It was thus, in a subsequent age, with Edward, the son of Edgar, assassinated by the queen, his step-mother, A. D. 978.

* Leland's Itinerary, Life of Melor. See Whitaker's Cornwall, Vol. I. p. 281.

CHAPTER V.

The History of the British Church during the fifth century. Account of Pelagius—the rise and progress of his errors.

THE beginning of this century was remarkable for the disputes respecting the peculiar tenets maintained by Pelagius; and his adherents. At the head of those who opposed him, and stood in defence of orthodoxy, were the celebrated Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa; and Hieronymus, generally called St. Jerom, a person of great learning, and whose name is highly celebrated for his skill in Hebrew literature, and his Latin version of the Bible. Both these holy men, for such they have been considered, whatever may be thought of their general piety, and transcendant abilities, appear very deficient in that kind of wisdom which St. James considers as essentially connected with meekness and gentleness. Pelagius, it will be acknowledged, notwithstanding the irascibility which has been looked upon as an essential ingredient in the composition of a Cambrian, conducted himself with greater coolness, and displayed a greater share of good manners, than his opponents.

As the British churches were deeply implicated in this controversy, I think it not irrelevant to the design of the present work, to give some account of Pelagius, and the errors attributed to him. In doing this I have principally to depend on the learned primate, to whom

I am so deeply indebted throughout the whole of these ecclesiastical researches.

As to Pelagius himself, it is generally agreed upon by authors of antiquity, that he was a Briton: but as to the affirmation of certain writers of a more modern date, respecting his being one of the monks of Bangor, (meaning Bangor Iscoed in Maelor,) there is a mistake which is easily detected. The monastic institution being hardly yet introduced into Britain, he could not have been a member of any monastery; although in the progress of this century many of those institutions, known among the Britons by the name of *Bangors*, were either founded, or newly regulated. But *Bangor* in *Maelor* on the river *Dee*, or as it was after called *Bangor Dunod*, from the prince who founded it, was not known until the ensuing century.

One of the earliest institutions for theological learning, in this island, was probably that at *Lantwit Major*, or *Lanillut*, so called from Iltutus, after he was set over it by Garmon. At that place called *Caer Worgan*, the Emperor Theodosius, according to some old British accounts, had established a seminary of learning in the preceding century, soon after the defeat of Maximus, or about A. D. 388. At such a place Pelagius may have received the rudiments of his education. This person's British name was *Morgan*, or perhaps *Morien*, which, as it signifies maritime, or bordering on the sea, may have been easily latinized into *Pelagius*. The county of *Morgannwg*, or *Glamorgan*, was so called on account of its maritime situation; although, according to others, it received its name from one *Morgan*, a prince of that country.

This celebrated character was, in all probability, a native of that part of Wales, from whence the name has become very common in all the adjoining counties; but

is hardly known in North Wales. I may be excused for the remark, that the district which I suppose to have given birth to Pelagius is still noted for the proneness of its inhabitants to religious controversy. That country has produced some eminent characters of recent date; of similar endowments with Pelagius; who was admired for his learning and good deportment; and said to be a man of a subtle and metaphysical genius, even while he was condemned for his errors. He, with many besides him, who secluded themselves from the bustle of the world, from a desire to addict themselves to study, were called monks. Such were Basil and Chrysostom, whom friendship, piety, and learning, knit together in the strictest bonds of fraternity. Chrysostom was compelled to quit his solitude to undertake the pastoral charge; the important and arduous duties of which he has so ably depicted in his excellent treatise on the Christian priesthood.

Whatever may be said respecting the errors of our ancient Briton, it is but common justice to allow him, like any other accused party, every plea which candour may offer on his behalf: it is, therefore, fair to observe, that his most vehement opponents fail to fix a blot on his moral character. Origen, whom he in some respects resembled, was renowned for the greatness and extent of his learning, as well as the most amiable manners, while his errors were neither few nor small.

At what time Pelagius left the land of his nativity, it is not easy to ascertain; but it must have been some time previous to the close of the fourth century. He resided for some time at Rome, where he was greatly respected previous to his being charged with maintaining erroneous doctrines.

The rise of the Pelagian heresy, according to Bede, was in the year 394; but, according to both Vossius and Usher, not until 405. The latter date will, perhaps,

best apply to the time when Pelagius was generally known to avow the sentiments which he had for some time secretly entertained, and which had been previously propagated by Ruffinus. Pelagius was the author of certain works well received even by those persons who afterwards opposed him. He was honoured with the correspondence of Augustine: and when the famous John Chrysostom heard of his falling into erroneous tenets, he greatly lamented him. In his letter to Olympias, and which was penned in his state of exile in Armenia, A. D. 405, he thus expresses himself: "My grief is great on account of Pelagius the monk: think of how many crowns are they worthy who stand undaunted, when we see men who have lived with so much piety and strictness drawn away." It would appear from hence that he did not bring his errors with him from Britain, whatever there might have been in his turn of thinking, which might dispose him the more readily to imbibe the opinions which he afterwards propagated.

At Rome Pelagius met with Celestius, an Hibernian Scot; and this man afterwards became his principal co-adjutor, or, as Jerome was pleased to stile him, his *Cerberus*. He became acquainted also with one Julian of Campania, who made himself very active in disseminating his heterodox principles.

As to Celestius, he himself acknowledged, at the council of Carthage, that he received his doctrine, concerning original sin, from Ruffinus; who, after living thirty years in the east, returned to Rome, A. D. 396. It was there he was condemned by Anastasius for maintaining the errors of Origen, but not before he had met with many adherents.*

* Ruffinus translated many of Origen's treatises into Latin; and that author had very high notions of the *Autogeneta*, or free-agency, of man. The Greek fathers were strenuous abettors of that doc-

“ But it was not into one city,” says Jerome, “ that he introduced those blasphemous opinions, but to the utmost of his ability he spread them through the world.”

Ruffinus had been under the tuition of Evagrius Ponticus, the Hyperborean, the author of a metaphysical work, which held forth the doctrine of impeccability, or the possibility of attaining to a state of absolute purity.

As *Celestius* and *Pelagius* were so closely linked together, there can be no doubt that their errors flowed from the same source: and we see that *Celestius* imbibed his notions from *Origen* and *Evagrius Ponticus*, through the medium of *Ruffinus*. The notions of the two persons in question were not therefore peculiar to themselves, but had been sanctioned before by great names.

Origen was sportive in imagination, and greatly attached to the works and philosophy of Plato. Among other fancies he held the pre-existence of human souls; and this alone would tend to destroy the doctrine of original sin. But the principal feature in the system appears to be certain conclusions drawn from the doctrine of the free-agency of man, the tendency of which was to deny the received opinions respecting the consequences of the first transgression.

Celestius being a man of a more bold and forward turn than Pelagius, the latter made use of him as his agent and right-hand man. It is said that at first he only proposed his doubts respecting certain points of doctrine generally received, as if he wished to be more

trine: hence *Origen* had many admirers in the east; and both *Celestius* and *Pelagius* were treated with greater lenity in the east than among the clergy of the western or Latin church.

fully satisfied respecting original sin, and the necessity of Divine grace. But after awhile he was no longer able to disguise his sentiments; and then he met with vehement opposition from all quarters.

“These monks,” says Mosheim, “looked upon the doctrines which were commonly received, concerning the corruption of human nature, and the necessity of Divine grace, to enlighten the understanding and purify the heart, as prejudicial to the progress of holiness, of virtue, and tending to lull mankind in a presumptuous and fatal security. They maintained that these doctrines were false, as they were pernicious; that the sins of our first parents were imputed to them alone, and not to their posterity; that we derive no corruption from their fall, but are born as pure and unspotted as Adam came out of the forming hand of his Creator. That mankind, therefore, are capable of repentance and amendment, and of arriving to the highest degrees of piety and virtue, by the use of their natural faculties and powers; that, indeed, external grace is necessary to excite their endeavours, but that they have no need of the internal succours of the Divine Spirit.” This is a summary of the notions attributed to *Celestius* and *Pelagius*; and Dr. Mosheim has expressed himself as favourably and as softly as he could do, consistently with truth, if the accounts of ancient writers are to be depended on.

At the approach of the Goths, A. D. 410, these two champions retired from Rome; and went into Africa, where they freely published their doctrine. Pelagius left his associate in Africa, and proceeded himself into Palestine, where he met with Christians from various countries; and among the rest with some from Britain. In the mean while Celestius remained at Carthage, with a view of obtaining a place among the Presbyters of that city; but his sentiments being investigated, they were

condemned at a council, held there in the year 416, in consequence of which he left that city, and went into the east. "It was from this time," says Mosheim, "that Augustine began to attack the tenets of Pelagius and Celestius, in his learned and eloquent writings." "To him," he says, "is due the glory of having suppressed this sect in its very birth." But some may be disposed to think, that these plaudits given to Augustine require to be a little qualified; for that celebrated character, in the heat with which he opposed the errors of Pelagius, was not clear from certain errors of an opposite kind, no less pernicious in their tendency. When the dignity of human nature is cried up, and the doctrine of the fall and corruption of mankind is denied or invalidated, we can perceive little need of the gospel salvation: but, on the other hand, to deny the free agency of man, and to maintain the necessity of an irresistible power in order to conversion, is to destroy every principle of moral obligation. Some have attributed the doctrine of absolute predestination to Augustine, while others think that it is at least intimately connected with the tenets which are held forth in the writings of that Father. The modern predestinarians regard him as the early patron of their opinions; and some of them are ready to look upon all as Pelagians, or at any rate as a kind of Semi-Pelagians, who do not profess the Calvinistic tenets respecting election and irresistible grace; with which are necessarily associated the doctrine of partial redemption and reprobation. When Augustine affirmed that there must be free grace, or we could not be saved; but if there be no free will God cannot judge the world; and that He who made us without ourselves, will not save us without ourselves; in saying thus he hit the golden mean between opposite extremes. But that celebrated man's warmth too frequently betrayed him into tenets

too rigid to be true; and too bitterly expressed to consist with Christian charity. No controversies have been more fiercely carried on among persons, who had otherwise every cause to respect each other, than those which concern the measures of God's grace, and the free agency of man. Man being corrupted by his fall in Adam, and vitiated by sinful habits and practices, some cannot comprehend, and therefore will not believe, that he can be saved without the interposition of an irresistible operation from above; which others cannot conceive to be consistent with the state of man, as a rational and accountable being. These points, when nicely investigated, are tenets of philosophy and metaphysics, rather than of religion; and it does not appear that there ever was any extensive controversy respecting them, until the disputes of which we are now treating.

At the council of Carthage the doctrines which Celestius was convicted of teaching were the following:—

I. That Adam was created mortal; and that, whether he had sinned or continued innocent, he would have been subject to death.

II. That the sin of Adam affected him only, and not the race of mankind.

III. That men might be saved as well by the laws, as by the gospel.

IV. That previous to the coming of Christ men were without sin.

V. That new-born infants are in the same state as Adam was before the fall.

VI. That it is not owing to the sin of Adam that all mankind are subject to death; nor is it through the resurrection of Christ, that all men shall rise again.

VII. That it is possible for man to live without sin, and keep the commands of God, and that without Divine grace.

The above positions must be considered as utterly subversive of the Christian religion: but whether the opponents of Celestius have fairly stated his cause in the above summary it is impossible to decide with nicety. But we have some account of the matter in the conversation that is stated to have passed between him and some of the clergy who composed that council. When asked pointedly whether he believed in the doctrine of original sin, or the depravity of human nature, he rather prevaricated: he attempted to turn off the question by saying, that he had known some Presbyters who denied it; but that as to himself he hesitated what to assert. As to the state of infants, he said that he considered their being polluted by the sin of Adam as a disputable point, on which he thought one might be at liberty without being deemed heretical.

Augustine was not present at this assembly, which was rather of a private or select nature, and to be distinguished from one which was more public and general, held in the year 418.

Pelagius found a friend in John, Bishop of Jerusalem, who was disposed to countenance him from the resemblance of his principles to certain tenets of *Origen*, to which the bishop was attached; and we find that the *Origenists* in general favoured *Pelagius*.

At a synod of bishops, which was convened at Jerusalem, A. D. 415, *Pelagius* was arraigned, at the instigation of *Orosius*; and a charge of heresy brought against him. The accused denied some articles of the charge; and with regard to others he gave such a turn to the expressions which he had used, that the charge was not established, especially as he made a verbal renunciation of certain opprobrious doctrines, which he was accused of holding.

The principal point of debate, at that time, was the

doctrine of perfection or impeccability, as it was called. Pelagius explained himself by denying that any man can be of his own nature impeccable; while at the same time he affirmed a man might live free from sin, if he desired to do so; because he might obtain that power from God, if he strove and earnestly endeavoured to avoid all sin, and to walk according to the Divine precepts. This was the favourable construction of the bishop, who adduced the words of St. Paul, "*Not I, but the grace of God, &c.*" with other scriptures; Pelagius assenting with a "*Et ego sic credo*,—Such is my belief." He added more, "Let him be *Anathema* that teaches man may attain to a state of perfect virtue without Divine assistance."—Usher, p. 128.—Wall, p. 187.

Pelagius wrote several things while he was at Jerusalem; but as he composed in Latin, his works were more read in the west than in the east, where he resided; as Greek was the current language of the eastern Christians.

Soon after the synod of Jerusalem, was that held at Diospolis, or Lydda. In this council, as well as the former one, held at Jerusalem, the fathers, not being acquainted with the Latin tongue, were not capable of judging of Pelagius's sentiments from his own works: and two of his principal opponents were absent through indisposition. He appears to have outwitted the divines of this synod, who were fourteen in number; for by his adroitness he entirely did away the force of all that was brought against him, either from his own writings, or those of Celestius.

With respect to free will, he admitted that the assistance of God is afforded to all that make a right use of their power, by chusing that which is good: but that when man sins, he is in fault through his own free choice. He held that the kingdom of heaven was

promised; that is, that the way of salvation is made known in the Old Testament: this he confirmed from the words in Daniel, "*The saints of the most High shall inherit the kingdom.*" With respect to living without sin, he confessed "that he had affirmed the possibility of man's living without sin, and keeping the commands of God, if he would; but this ability was the gift of God:" but that he had not asserted, "that there was any man who, from infancy to old age, had never committed sin; but that being converted from his sins, he might, through his own endeavours, in conjunction with the grace of God, live without sin." But he did not mean to say, "That he was not afterwards subject to fall." Other things connected with that question, and said to be contained in his writings, he denied; and being asked if he would anathematize them, he replied, Yes,—but as fools rather than heretics; for he considered the things alledged as absurdities.

As to the various things produced from the writings of Celestius, he did not conceive himself bound to stand by the assertions of another man: but if there were in them any thing contrary to the Catholic doctrines, he disowned them; and anathematized all who opposed the doctrines of the church.

Pelagius having thus satisfied the synod, he was judged worthy to be retained as a member of the Catholic church: in consequence of which he boasted that the synod had sanctioned his doctrine, and exculpated him from the charge of denying the grace of God.

Augustine wrote to Bishop John, requesting him more minutely to investigate the doctrines of Pelagius, and not to suffer himself to be deceived by his equivocal concessions. He sent him that treatise of Pelagius, containing the positions so much objected to, with his own work in reply to it. "Your reverence," says

Augustine, "will now be able to judge what he means
"by the grace and assistance of God, when we object
"to him that his doctrine is repugnant to the Divine
"grace and assistance. You may then admonish him,
"and pray for his salvation, that he may profess that
"doctrine of grace, which all the saints acknowledge,
"when they seek from the Lord for His help to do those
"things which He has commanded them. For neither
"would those things be commanded, but that our will
"and disposition might be shewn; neither would those
"requests be offered up, but that the infirmity of our
"will might be aided by Him who has enjoined those
"commands."—See Usher, p. 132.

Augustine gives us some curious extracts from Pelagius's treatise on free will, in which we may perceive more of the metaphysician than the divine. "Here," argues Pelagius, "some ignorant persons suppose that we disparage the Divine grace because we affirm that it will never perfect us in holiness without the concurrence of our will, as if the commands of God were directed to His own grace, instead of affording the aids of His grace to those upon whom He has enjoined the things which He has commanded; in order that, what men are commanded of their own free will to do, they might be able more readily to fulfil through grace, which we acknowledge to consist, not only in the giving of the law, as a rule and directory, but in the assistance of God. He assists us not only by His doctrine and revelation, while He thereby opens the eyes of our mind, while He represents to us the things that are to come, lest we should be engrossed by things which are present to us, but in laying before us the devices of the devil, and in enlightening us with the variegated and ineffable gift of His heavenly grace. Now does he, who asserts these things, appear to you to deny the Divine grace;

or does he not rather maintain both the grace of God, and the free will of man."—See Usher, p. 133.

At a provincial council held at Carthage, A. 416, Pelagius and Celestius were both condemned. In the same year they were also condemned in a council held at Milevum in Numidia.

The decrees of these councils were forwarded to Rome, which was even then stiled the Apostolic see, although as yet it made no claim to infallibility. Pope *Innocent*, who had hitherto befriended the Pelagian cause, although unwilling to admit of the charge of heresy, made against Pelagius and Celestius, upon a more thorough investigation of the whole matter, gave way to the African clergy. This prelate was far from coinciding with the errors of those men; but, relying on the acquittal of Pelagius at Diospolis, hoped he was free from the charges brought against him. But finding, upon further examination, that the African clergy had sufficient reason for the censures they passed, he agreed to excommunicate both Pelagius and Celestius.

Pelagius drew up a confession of faith at large, which was sent to Rome; but Pope Innocent dying that year, the business was brought before his successor, Zosimus. Celestius also presented a *libellus*, or a work which contained a vindication of his doctrine. Zosimus was so charmed with the defence made by these champions of heterodoxy, that he decided in their favour; and wrote letters accordingly to the African clergy, to inform them that they ought to rejoice that these monks had renounced their errors, and were now clear from all heresy. But those bishops were not to be so easily moved by the fine subterfuges of the men; and therefore a more numerous and august council was convened at Carthage, consisting of 214 bishops. To their decision Zosimus thought proper to accede, so that Pelagianism was now formally

condemned by both the eastern and the western church.

In the council it is expressed that the sentence of Pope Innocent against Pelagius and Celestius was to be considered as remaining in force, until they should fully and openly confess the necessity of the assistance of God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ, not only that we might know what is right, but to enable us to perform every act of righteousness: inasmuch as without it we can neither think nor speak, nor do any thing truly holy and pious.

But as Zosimus appeared to think so well of Celestius, who was then at Rome, it was required that he should abjure and anathematize the noxious tenets contained in his confession of faith laid before the pope. This, however, he did not think proper to do; for when he was cited to make his appearance in order to give clear and positive answers to what was required by the African council, he declined thus standing his ground, and took himself away from the city.

The decrees of the council were sanctioned by the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius; and both Pelagius and Celestius were banished the empire.

Celestius still continued to propagate his opinions in conjunction with Julian of Campania; for in the year 420, *Constantius*, whom *Honorius* had chosen as his partner in the empire, published his edict against *Celestius*, but *Pelagius* is not mentioned. We may infer that from that time Pelagius, either through age and infirmity, or through good sense, of which he was not destitute, submitted to the censures of the church.

“There will ever be this difference,” says the ingenuous and learned Mr. Wall, “between a man of sense and a thick-sculled man; that the former, if he find himself gravelled, will at least have the modesty to

give over talking. Pelagius, after he was brought to this contradiction, (from the African bishops and the pope) kept silence; and we hear no more of him. But Celestius blundered through all this, and a great deal more: when he was excommunicated at one place, going to another. And he, after all this, continued to make such a noise in the eastern parts, that the heresy which was called Pelagian in the west, was there called the Celestian heresy. After several excommunications in particular churches, he was, at last, pronounced a heretic in the general council, or meeting of all the eastern and western bishops at Ephesus, A. D. 331."

Pelagius, before that council, was, in all probability, no longer alive. He died in obscurity somewhere in the east. Thus Bishop Stillingfleet. See his *Origines Britannicæ*.

§ 2. *The character and tenets of Pelagius further considered; his opponents and friends: his confession of faith, with that of Celestius.*

It has been averred by some writers that it is now out of our power to form a proper estimate of the character and principles of Pelagius: his enemies being so powerful, and the disputes respecting him being carried on with such warmth and acrimony, no fair judgment, say they, can be formed of the real state of the case at this time of day.

Augustine displayed great warmth of temper, it must be admitted, in his opposition to Pelagius and Celestius: but he cannot be charged with want of candour, for we have no proof that at any time he misrepresented the views of his antagonists. He was the friend and admirer of Pelagius, before he broached his erroneous tenets to the world. Jerome drove on furiously, and shewed

great virulence in the controversy; but Celestius appears to have equalled him. That man he was pleased to call *Cerberus*; and Pelagius *Pluto*: and he very genteelly said of the former that he was a Scotch blockhead, *Scoticis pultibus prægravatus*; Celestius being an Hibernian Scot. The good character and abilities of Pelagius were generally allowed by his opponents; and we have still remaining those fragments of his writings that sufficiently shew the turn of the man's mind, and the nature of those errors which he was charged with holding; so that it cannot be said we are not now able to obtain a fair account of his sentiments. *Le Clerc* set up for his advocate; but *Wall*, who has treated the subject with great ability, in his history of infant baptism, has fully answered his cavils. Dr. Mosheim does not appear satisfied with what he had seen written on the subject, particularly referring to *Usher*, *Vossius*, Cardinal *Norris*, *Garner*, *Jansenius*, and *Longueval*, the four last of whom are Popish writers. He observes, that none of these authors have exhausted this interesting subject, or treated it with a sufficient degree of impartiality. But it would be difficult even for this learned historian to add much to what *Usher* and *Vossius* had said; nor can either of those writers be taxed with want of candour or impartiality.

But if the statements handed down to us, respecting Pelagius and his sentiments, are not so completely satisfactory as we could wish; we may attribute the defect, in a great measure, to that pitiful turn of evading and prevaricating, with which he has been too justly charged. Pelagius was, in point of wit and learning, equal to any of his opponents; and some of them he fairly outwitted. He had an able advocate in John, bishop of Jerusalem, and his successor Prælius; and both Innocentius and Zosimus, the Roman pontiffs, were his friends. The admirers of

Origen and *Ruffinus* were generally his friends: and as *Pelagius* was possessed of a subtle and metaphysical genius himself, and as it appears master of his temper, *Celestius* was the counterpart, being bold, forward, and courageous.

His two grand opponents are well described by Dr. Maclean, the translator of Mosheim: "The learned and furious Jerom, who never thought of doing common justice to those who had the misfortune to differ from him in opinion, accused Pelagius of gluttony and intemperance, after he had heard of his errors, though he had admired him before for his exemplary virtues. Augustine, more candid and honest, bears impartial testimony to the truth; and even while he writes against this heretic, acknowledges that he had made great progress in virtue and piety; that his life was chaste, and his manners blameless; and this, indeed, was the truth of the matter."

Augustine, in defending the necessity of Divine grace against Pelagius, ran into the predestinarian scheme; although Vossius affirms, that that father maintained no other doctrine than what had been the doctrine of the church before, although not so explicitly stated. But Augustine is not always consistent with himself, and the manner in which he fell into that scheme may be easily accounted for. Augustine had been a Manichean, and as such held the doctrine of two original principles, the one good, and the other evil: when convinced of this error, he was too easily led into the opposite one of a fatal necessity, arising from the decrees of God, with respect to the salvation of man. This was the more plausible to him, as he perceived that the great error of Pelagius was the attributing of too much to the powers of human reason, and the free-agency of intelligent beings. He was not metaphysician enough to confute

Pelagius on his own ground, by admitting the free-agency of man, and the possibility of every man attaining to a state of righteousness, through his earnest endeavours in conjunction with the influence and assistance of the Divine Spirit. What led more immediately to the adopting of the predestinarian scheme, on the part of this great man, has not been generally adverted to. The case stood thus: Augustine and the Pelagians disputed on the situation of infants; the one holding that infants were polluted with original sin, and that the church baptized them on that account that they might be entitled to forgiveness through the merits of Christ, baptism being the seal of the new covenant: moreover, that without the ordinance of baptism, they must remain in a state of guilt; and, consequently, could not be admitted into the kingdom. The Pelagians also held the necessity of baptism for infants, although they denied their being liable to guilt on account of the sin of Adam, or on account of any pollution derived from him; still maintaining, that those who died in infancy, if unbaptized, could not enter into Paradise. Here then it was contested, that those children who, being baptized, were saved through Christ, must be considered as elected to salvation, while the others were necessarily reprobated, as all the circumstances of our birth and death are under the controul and superintendence of the Most High. See *Wall*. But the error of Pelagius did not consist merely in maintaining that infants were not born in a state of condemnation owing to the sin of Adam; for this may be made a subject of nice discussion: but, without making him an offender on that account, it is evident he did not believe mankind to be fallen into that state of corruption, as to need the internal grace and quickening power of the Holy Ghost, to renew and to save us. "Let him," says Augustine, "once at least own that

grace by which the greatness of the future glory is not only promised to us, but believed and hoped for by us; and by which the Divine wisdom is not only revealed to us, but loved by us; and by which we are not only advised to every thing good, but prevailed on to follow it." Then having commented on that text, "No man can come to me, except the Father, who has sent me, draw him, he adds, this sort of grace Pelagius ought to own, if he have a mind not only to be called, but to be a Christian."

But the event proved, that he never would consent to own that grace which begets faith and love in the soul, and produces holy obedience. There is nothing of this in his confession of faith presented to Pope Zosimus, nor in any of his writings. He acknowledged the light of the gospel revelation: but he seems an entire stranger to the inward workings of the Holy Ghost, producing a saving change in the heart of man. In this his uniform tone and accent was not very different to some of our moderns, who never speak of the operations of the Holy Ghost, except it be in a way to explain away every thing of that kind, as held forth in the New Testament.

But many unfair and unchristian attempts have been made to confound Arminianism with Pelagianism. "But God forbid," as Wall observes, "that all should be Pelagians that have not the same conceptions as St. Austin on the subject of Predestination: *Pelagianism* has been accounted an heretical doctrine in all ages of the church, and in all particular churches; even in those in which the doctrine of predestination has been variously explained."

The Arminians, at the synod of Dort, cleared themselves on this head: and although some, who have gone under the name of Arminians, have trod on the very verge of Socinianism, as it respects the doctrine of the

Spirit's influence; yet many eminent Arminian divines have displayed the most evangelical sentiments. See Wesley, on Original Sin, against Dr. Taylor; and Mr. Fletcher, of Madeley, on the Fall of Man.

But for the satisfaction of the English reader, who is not in possession of *Wall* on Infant Baptism, I shall here annex some extracts from the writings of Pelagius, as given by Archbishop Usher, some of which are to be found in *Wall*. It will appear from them how great a similarity there exists between the mode of reasoning adopted by our ancient Britons, and some of his countrymen of the present and the last age.

His views of free will he thus states: "There exists in us an ability or capacity planted by God as a fruitful and powerful principle, by which we may incline to either side: this, according as the will inclines, may produce fruit of various kind, and which, according to the option of him who cultivates it, may either be decked with the flowers of virtue, or be deformed with the weeds of vice." Then he subjoins, "As we have, therefore, in us the principle of free agency, to be our strong and firm guard against sin, which the Creator hath endowed every man's nature with, we are also through his inestimable goodness fortified by his continual assistance."

Although we may not be disposed to censure what is contained in the above extract, when speaking philosophically of man as a free-agent; yet, such a descant on the dignity of human nature, without the least allusion to the change and alteration made in man by the fall, with so vague a reference to the grace of God, bespeaks a mind unacquainted with the plan of our salvation by Christ.

Pelagius wrote a short commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; from which Usher gives us seve-

ral extracts. The following exposition of the latter part of the seventh chapter of that Epistle contains nothing reprehensible for what it expresses, but rather for what is omitted; and it was there he was generally faulty. "This, which you apply to the state of the apostle, all ecclesiastical persons consider him in that place as personating the condition of a sinner, and as yet living under the law, who from vicious habits had contracted a kind of necessity of sinning, so that when he felt inclined to that which was good, his bad habits precipitated him into evil. Under the form of one person he illustrates the situation of a people sinning while under the old law, whom he shews were to be delivered by Christ alone from that evil state, who first forgives the sin of the believer through baptism; and then, through the imitation of himself, he urges them on to perfect holiness, and subdues the vicious habits by the example of his virtues." There is no mention of the internal operation of grace to counteract the propensities of fallen nature; but it is suggested that the example of Christ's life set before us is sufficient to lead us on to perfect holiness. As he would have it that men were depraved owing to bad examples, rather than through any inherent degeneracy of their nature; so he seems to consider the example of Christ as the greatest assistance to holiness we derive from the gospel.

In his treatise on free-will he has the following passages: "He who runs to God, and desires to be governed by him, that is, he whose will acquiesces in the will of God, and, by cleaving to him continually becomes one in spirit with him, as the apostle says; this he cannot do but in the exercise of his free-will. This, whosoever improves well, he gives himself up so fully to God, and mortifies his own will so completely, that he can say with the Apostle, I live, yet not I; but Christ liveth in

me: he surrenders his heart into the hands of God, that God may incline as he thinks proper."

In explaining the apostle's words, God worketh in us to will and to do, he says, "He worketh in us to will what is good, and to work what is good; for while we are engrossed by earthly desires, and like brute animals delight only in the things which are temporal, he inflames us by representing to us the excellence of future glory, and with the promise of its rewards; while by his manifested wisdom he excites our sluggish will to the love of God, and at the same time he allures us to every thing that is good."

"Under all this," says the primate, "there lies concealed a deadly poison, which Augustine, in his first book, *De Gratia Dei*, hath laid open. This man, when closely pressed, we find, acknowledged the internal aids of the Holy Ghost: but we may observe in what way he did this; it is all to be applied to the great things which are represented to us in the Sacred Records; and thus all inspiration is made to consist in that revelation of Divine things which is made to us in the Scriptures.

As a further specimen of Pelagius's mode of reasoning, Augustine has given the following extract, which I take from Vossius's History of Pelagianism. He distinguishes between the power, the will, and the act:—"In the first," he says, "we consider the power; secondly, the will; thirdly, the action. As to the first, the power is in nature; the will in our determination, (*in arbitrio*); the being actually good in the affection. The first, especially, belongs to God, who conferred it on his creature: but the other two, that is, to will and to act, are to be ascribed to man as proceeding from our own choice. There human virtue consists in willing and acting; yea, this is the praise of both man and God, for it is he who hath afforded us the capacity to will and

to act; for that very capacity he assists by the aids of his grace. But that man is capable of both willing and accomplishing that which is good, it is from God. The one (that is, the capacity,) may exist alone; but the other two (the willing and doing) can never exist distinct from the other. Therefore, I am at my liberty neither to will nor to do a good action: but I cannot be divested of the capacity; it exists in me, even in spite of my opposition to it; nor doth nature know any intermission in this respect. But a few instances may throw some light on this subject. The faculty of seeing is not ours; but whether we make a proper or improper use thereof lies with us. And in order to comprise all under one; that we are endued with a capacity to act, speak, or think aright, comes from him, who hath endued with such a faculty, and assists in the exercise of it. But when we either do, or speak, or think aright, it is our own act; because in all these respects we are capable of perverting the capacity with which we are endued: therefore, when we assert that man may live without sin, we ascribe the praise to God, who hath conferred upon us that power; for there can be no cause of ascribing any thing to man, where the Divine power alone is concerned." Here Pelagius acknowledges that it is in God we live and move; and he ascribes praise to God for enduing us with the powers which render us moral agents. But here is nothing respecting the influence of the Holy Ghost assisting us to overcome evil propensities, and shake off sin, and to forsake sinful practices. Nature appears here to be sufficient without any supernatural aid. The misfortune of this man was, that he gave himself up to subtle metaphysical reasonings, instead of receiving the word of God in its simple and obvious meaning. This was the main source of all his errors, as we should more clearly discern were we in

possession of the whole of his works. He had studied too much in the schools of philosophy, and too little in the school of Christ.

It appears that the Pelagians were fond of the Socratic mode of arguing; and delighted in puzzling their opponents by reducing them to certain dilemmas, from which they thought they could not extricate themselves. His reasonings on the possibility of living without sin are philosophically conclusive: but they are not sound theology, as they do not admit of the low condition into which man is fallen, nor the necessity of the special influence of the Holy Ghost to enable us perfectly to love God, and worthily to magnify his holy name.

“Those who deny the possibility of man’s living without sin must first of all be asked, what is it which constitutes the evil of sin? Is it something which is avoidable, or unavoidable? If it cannot be shunned, then is it no longer sin; but if it be that which may be avoided, then man may live without sin.”

“It may again be enquired, whether sin proceeds from choice, or necessity? If from necessity, then it is no longer sin; if it proceed from our own will and choice, it may be avoided.

“The question is then put whether sin be natural, or accidental? Whether it be an action, or a substance? Ought man then to live without sin, or ought he not? *If he ought, he may.* Then he asks, Is it the will of God, that man should live without sin, or that he should live in sin?”

To such queries we may answer, with Augustine, that man may live without sin, but not of his own powers, but through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. But Pelagius would never express himself with sufficient clearness on the necessity of Divine grace; and when upon some occasions he was induced to make a few

concessions in that way, it appeared by his subsequent writing that they were only extorted at the time. He seemed to take pleasure in perplexing his antagonist, rather than clearly setting forth his own principles, and defending them in a manly way. By assuming certain positions, he reasoned upon them in a sophistical manner to pour ridicule on the doctrine of original sin. Had he indeed only objected to the doctrine of infants being actually sinful and subject to condemnation, his scruples could only be recorded as a proof of his superior sense: but from the doctrine of man's free-agency he denied that moral inability, whereby fallen man is incompetent to yield obedience to the laws of God. In order to account for the general sinfulness of mankind, he contended that we were sinners by imitation, rather than from an innate depravity. This doctrine is properly condemned in the 13th article of the church of England.

The reasoning of Pelagius and his associates we are ready to admit, so far as it is opposed to the doctrine of fatalism and necessity, or any kind of creed which affords such a view of the fallen state of man as to represent him incapable of attending to the light of the gospel, and departing from evil, and turning to the good way, until he be influenced by an irresistible Divine power. In maintaining the free-will of man, he aimed at subverting the scriptural doctrine of our fall in Adam; and while he held it possible to lead a life of perfect innocence, he did not see the necessity of the renewing power of the Spirit and grace of God.

But whatever were the errors of Pelagius, he believed those great and fundamental articles of the faith defined at the council of Nice, and expressed in its creed, although it is generally the case in modern times for those who deny the doctrine of original sin to deny also the Divinity of the Saviour, and the necessity of atonement.

But there were none among the ancient Christians who denied the necessity of an atonement for the sins of mankind.

The errors of Pelagius may have been exaggerated by his enemies; and it is become difficult for us in these days to enter nicely into the various points in dispute between him and his opponents: but after making every fair allowance, and admitting that Augustine and Hierome may have leaned towards extremes which are the opposite of his errors, his stile and manner throughout was that of one who corrupted the simplicity of the gospel by a vain philosophy. The word of God is the standard of our faith; and in speaking on divine subjects we should take heed to speak like the oracles of God.

As a piece of curiosity, I have inserted here the *Libellus Fidei*, or Confession of Faith, which Pelagius presented to the Bishop of Rome for the vindication of his doctrine. It may be observed that it slightly passes over the most objectionable points. I subscribe to the sentence which Wall has pronounced on this production; and give it my reader, as he says, for the credit of our country, and of Pelagius as an ancient Briton.

“ St. Austin always speaks of him as a man of extraordinary capacity and accomplishments; and one whom he should much admire, were it not for his heterodox opinions. And the works of his that are left shew him a man of very good parts. There are none left entire but this and a letter of his to Demetrias. Both that letter is as polite and (as Orosius expresses it) elaborate a piece as any that age afforded; and also this confession of his faith is as handsomely and learnedly penned as any of the creeds drawn up by private men of that time, whereof there were many; save that he does not speak home of that point of which he was questioned. And yet though these are by much the most ancient.

pieces extant that ever were written by one born in our country, they have never yet been published in our language."—See Wall, 2d edition, 1707, p. 200.

§ 3. *Pelagius's Confession of Faith, sent by him to Innocentius, Bishop of Rome.*

WE believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible. We believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were created; very God, the only begotten, the true Son of God, not a made nor adopted one, but begotten: of one substance with the Father; which the Greeks express by *ομοουσιον*: and in such a manner equal in all things with the Father that He cannot be inferior, either in time, or degree, or power. And we acknowledge Him that is begotten to be of the same greatness as He is that begot Him.

And whereas we say the Son is begot of the Father; we do not ascribe any thing to that Divine and ineffable generation: but do mean that neither the Father nor the Son had any beginning. For we cannot otherwise confess the Son to be eternal; unless we do also confess the Son to be co-eternal: for He is called the Father, as having a Son; and He who ever was a Father, ever had a Son.

We believe also in the Holy Spirit, very God, proceeding from the Father, equal in all things with the Father and the Son, in power, in will, in eternity, in substance. Neither is there any degree (or *graduation*) in the Trinity; nothing that can be called superior or inferior; but the whole Deity is equal in its perfection: so that except the words that signify the propriety of the Persons, whatever is said of one Person, may very well be understood of all Three.

And as, in confutation of *Arius*, we say, that the substance of the Trinity is one and the same, and do own one God in Three Persons; so, avoiding the impiety of *Sabellius*, we distinguish Three Persons expressed by their property: not saying that the Father is a Father to Himself, nor the Holy Spirit the Spirit of Himself; but that there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. For we acknowledge not only (*several*) names, but also properties of the names, that is, Persons; or, as the Greeks express them, *Hypostases*. Nor does the Father at any time include the Person of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit; nor again does the Son or Holy Spirit receive the name or Person of the Father; but the Father is always Father, Son always Son, and the Holy Spirit always Holy Spirit: so that they are in substance (essence) one; but they are distinguished by Persons, and by names.

And we say, that this Son of God, who, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, inherited eternity without any beginning, did, in the end of the world, take upon him, of *Mary*, who was always a virgin, perfect man of our nature; and the Word was made flesh by taking manhood to him, not by altering His Deity.

And we do in such a manner hold that there is in Christ one Person of the Son, as that we say there are in Him two perfect and entire substances (*or natures*), viz. of the Godhead and of the manhood, which consists of soul and body.*

But we do hold that our nature, capable of suffering, was so assumed by the Son of God; as that the Divinity did remain incapable of suffering. For the Son of God suffered (not in appearance only, but really,) all those things which the Scripture speaks of; *i. e.* hunger, thirst,

* I omit two articles, wherein certain confused and impious notions of the ancient heretics are condemned.

weariness, pain, death, and the like: but he suffered in that nature which was capable of suffering; not in that nature which did assume, but in that which was assumed. For the Son of God is, in respect of His Godhead, incapable of suffering as the Father; incomprehensible as the Father; invisible as the Father. And though the proper Person of the Son, that is, The Word of God, did take on Him humanity capable of suffering; yet, the Godhead of the Word, in its own nature, did not suffer any thing by the inhabiting of the humanity; as did not the whole Trinity, which we must of necessity confess to be incapable of suffering. The Son of God, therefore, died, according to the Scriptures, in respect of that which was capable of dying.

The third day He rose again. He ascended into heaven. He sits on the right-hand of God the Father: the same nature of flesh still remaining in which He was born and suffered; in which He also rose again. For the nature of His humanity is not extinguished, but is glorified; being to continue for ever with the Divinity.

Having, therefore, received from the Father the power of all things in heaven and earth, He will come to judge the living and the dead; that He may reward the just, and punish the sinners.

We do all believe the resurrection of the flesh; in such a manner as to say, that we shall be restored again in the same truth (*or the self same*) of our members, in which we are now; * and that we shall for ever remain such as we shall be once made after the resurrection.

* This the Scripture does not require us to believe. The ingenious mind of Origen could not brook the notion that this body, in the gross, would be raised up in the last day. We shall have such a body as Infinite Wisdom shall deem proper for the heavenly state. It is strange that the man, who held a doctrine so contrary to that of the

That there is one life for the saints; but rewards different according to their labour: as on the other side the punishments of the wicked shall be according to the measure of their sins.

We hold *one baptism*, which we say ought to be administered with the same sacramental words to infants* as it is to elder persons.

We receive the Old and New Testaments in the same number of books† as the authority of the Holy Catholic church doth deliver.

If after baptism a man do fall, we believe he may be recovered by repentance (*or penance*).

We believe that our souls are given by God, and we hold that they are made by Him; ‡ anathematizing those who say that souls are, as it were, a part of the substance of God. We do also condemn those who say that the souls have sinned in a former state, § or that they have lived in the celestial regions before they were sent into bodies.

Scripture and of the church in other respects, should here be so unphilosophically orthodox!

* The translator has the following note, which should be attended to:—St. Hierom had said, that the Pelagians must either own that infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins, or else make two baptisms. Pelagius was, therefore, forced to say as he does here. And Celestius, in his draught of faith, gives this reason why he grants that infants are baptized for forgiveness of sins, “*That we may not seem to make two sorts of baptism.*”

† The canon had been agreed upon long before this time, comprising the same books which are received by all the Protestant churches.

‡ Pelagius did not hold the traduction of the soul, as Austin and others did: there have been many disputes on this point.—See *Flavel* on the soul; *Watts* on the ruin and recovery of mankind; and *Fletcher* on the fallen state of man. The doctrine of the soul coming immediately from God, makes *original sin* appear the more intricate.

§ He renounces the opinions of Origen with respect to the pre-existence of souls. But some of his party held those opinions.

We do also abhor the blasphemy of those who say that any impossible thing is commanded to man by God; or that the commandments of God cannot be performed by any one man, but that by all men taken together they may. Or that do condemn first marriages in compliance with *Manichæus*; or second marriages in compliance with the *Montanists*.

Also we do anathematize those who say, that the Son of God did tell lies by the necessity of the flesh (*or the weakness of his humanity*); and that because of the human nature which He had taken on Him, He could not do all things that He would.*

We do also condemn the heresy of Jovinian, who says, that in the life to come there will be no difference of merits (*or rewards*); and that we shall have virtues (*or graces*) which we took no care to have here.

Free-will we do so own, as to say, that we always stand in need of God's help: and that as well are they in an error who say, with *Manichæus*, that a man cannot avoid sin; as they who affirm, with *Jovinian*, that a man cannot sin. For both of these take away the freedom of the will. But we say that a man always is in a state in which he may sin, or may not sin; so as to own ourselves always to be of a free-will; *i. e. capable of either good or evil*.

* He refers to some things which Hierom had said, and which he thought subjected him to such an imputation. Christ said, *I can do nothing of myself*; and He told His brethren and kindred that He was not going to the Feast of Tabernacles; *but when His brethren were gone up, then He also went up to the feast*. Thus Christ, as man, could not do what He would, independent of His Divinity; and He did that which at one time He purposed not to do. But Hierom reproached the Pelagians with boasting that they could do whatever they pleased, as they held that man might live without sin, if he would. Pelagius here retorts.

This, he assures Pope Innocent, was his faith, which he had learned in the Catholic church, and had always held. Celestius also presented a similar confession, of which only some fragments are preserved; but he speaks very boldly on the subject of original sin. The following extract is taken from St. Augustine's treatise on original sin, as given by Mr. Wall.

"We own that infants ought, according to the rule of the universal church, and according to the sentence of the gospel, to be baptized for forgiveness of sins, because our Lord has determined that the kingdom of heaven cannot be baptized on any but baptized persons: which, because it is a thing which nature cannot give, it is necessary it should be given by the liberty of grace. But, when we say that infants are to be baptized for forgiveness of sins, we do not say with such intent as that we would seem to confirm the opinion of sin being by derivation (*or propagation*), which is a thing far from the Catholic doctrine. For that sin which man commits is not born with him; because it is demonstrable that sin is not by nature, but by choice. Therefore, it is both proper to own the former, that we may not seem to make two sorts of baptism; and also necessary to give a caution about the latter, lest, on account of that ordinance, it be averred, to the reproach of the Creator, that evil is by nature conveyed to a man before it be acted by him."

The strength of the argument consists in representing the contagion of original depravity in an infant, as actually sinful. Where the intelligent powers are not yet in exercise, sin can have no actual existence, there being no law violated, not even in purpose or intention. An infant cannot be subject to the displeasure of the Divine Legislator as it respects individual responsibility; but an infant as the offspring of sinful parents, and descended

from the first transgressors, may be subject to certain penalties, and in that sense need remission,

Augustine, Hierom, Prosper, and others, were strenuous and unremitting in their endeavours to counteract the contagion of the erroneous tenets of Pelagius. But this man had many friends and abettors; and the Catholic doctors found great difficulty in stopping the progress of those tenets, both in the eastern and the western churches. Their opponents trod on the verge of fatalism; and, indeed, the subjects in dispute were very intricate, and the contentions were warm and vehement on both sides. They sometimes fought in the dark, not properly understanding each other's meaning, nor having compassion on each other's infirmities. Thus the church was in danger of becoming a sort of Pandemonium; where the great poet represents the fallen angels involved in the mazes of endless disputation:

..... They reasoned high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate:
Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute;
And found no end in wandering mazes lost.

Pelagius's confession was accompanied with a letter, in which he says that, in what he has advanced on the subject of free-will, he considers man so situated that he is at liberty either to sin or to refrain from sin; but that in all good works we must receive Divine assistance. This power of free-will, he affirms, that he held equally to exist in all men by nature, whether they be Christians, Jews, or Heathens; but that in Christians alone it is aided by the grace of God. "They, therefore, are to be judged and condemned, who, while they are endued with free-will through which they may attain to faith, and be fitted for the reception of the grace of God,

make a bad use of the liberty with which they are endued: but those will be rewarded who, through the proper use of their free-will, merit the grace of God and keep His commandments.

§ 4. *Spread of Pelagianism in Gaul and Britain. Enquiry whether Pelagius had imbibed his erroneous tenets from the principles of the Druid philosophy.*

IN the year 425, the Emperor Valentinian set forth his imperial mandate to Patroclus, archbishop of Arles, and primate of the Gallican churches, enjoining all the bishops of his province, who favoured the Pelagian heresy, to be convened; and provided that within the space of twenty days they refused to revoke their heterodox opinions, they were to be expelled, and other orthodox persons to be preferred to their cures. Previous to this time Pelagianism must have taken deep root in that country, so as to cause a general alarm among the clergy.

About that time one Cassian became the founder, it is said, of the Semi-Pelagian doctrine in Gaul, where it appears to have prevailed to a considerable degree, under the sanction of some venerable names, as there were several who disproved of Pelagius's tenets, and, at the same time, could not enter altogether into the views of Augustine. Among these was the famous Vincentius Lirinensis, the author of the *Commonitorium*, or Rule of Faith, and brother to Garmon, or Germanus, of whom we shall soon have to speak. Hilary, bishop of Arles, was also a favourer of that cause, and was complained of to Augustine, who employed his pen to the last to silence his opponents, if possible; and could not

be satisfied that any man of eminence should, in the least, differ from his decisions. The errors of the Gallican clergy may be judged of from the tracts which the learned bishop published at this time, being in defence of *predestination* and *perseverance*. Augustine, in the heat of his disputes with Pelagius, adopted the scheme of absolute predestination; and they who did not coincide with that part of his creed were considered questionable as to their orthodoxy.

We read of two eminent men in Britain, or who at least were Britons, Fastidius and Faustus; and both these have by some been accused of Pelagianism. This charge against Fastidius is brought by Cardinal Norris, in his history of Pelagianism; but with little reason, as Bishop Stillingfleet has shewn. He is stiled by an ancient writer *Britannorum Episcopus*, bishop of the Britons; and, according to some, was the Archbishop and primate of Britain. He has been represented as a man of great wit and eloquence, an excellent preacher, and a person eminent for his piety.

As to Faustus, although a native of Britain, he is spoken of among the Gallican clergy, unless he was a descendant of some British family that went over in the time of Maximus. In a letter of his to Ruricius, he speaks of himself as a stranger, who, through the kindness of his patron, found a home in the land of his pilgrimage. "He was one who attained a wonderful reputation," says Stillingfleet, "both for piety and learning; and his name was preserved among the saints in the calendar of the Gallican church. He was bishop of *Riez*, in the year 462. The council of Arles fixed upon him as the most proper person to draw up their sentiments in the great points then so much agitated about predestination and grace. Faustus wrote some things on *grace* and *free-will*, in which it is thought he was dis-

posed to contradict St. Augustine's doctrine; and this rather appears to be the case from a passage taken from that work of his: "That if it be true that some are predestinated to life, and others to destruction, as a certain holy man hath said, we are not born to be judged, but we are judged before we are born." According to such a doctrine Faustus conceived "there can be no equity in the day of judgment."

Even in Augustine's lifetime there were persons who carried the doctrine of predestination farther than he intended; and this occasioned some warm disputes. "Some," he complains, "did so preach up the grace of God, as to deny free-will; and, consequently, to say that God, in the day of judgment, would not render to men according to their works." Others asserted, "That our free-will was assisted by the grace of God, that we may know and do the things which are right: that the Lord, when He comes to render to every man according to their works, may find our works good, which He hath prepared that we may walk in them. And they, said he, who judge thus do judge rightly." This was in accord with that famous saying of his: "If there be no grace, there can be no salvation; if there be no free-will, there can be no day of judgment." A vindicator of St. Augustine admitted very judiciously, "That man is possessed of free-will, but wounded by the fall, and only recoverable by the grace of Christ."—See *Stillingsfleet*, c. 4.

It was not probable that the disputes between the disciples of Pelagius and the Catholics, or the Orthodox, should subsist long in Gaul without finding their way to Britain, when, we consider the contiguity of one to the other, and the continual intercourse between them. We have no reason to believe that Pelagius ever returned to his native country, or indeed to any part of the west, after his condemnation in so many councils.

It is probable he died in obscurity in the east, as Stillingfleet has observed. But the person who is said, by ecclesiastical writers, to have first diffused the Pelagian tenets in this country, was Agricola, son of Severianus, a Gallican bishop. This is the account of Bede and others: and as to the time and occasion of this person coming over, nothing is said; but Bishop Stillingfleet's conjecture seems very probable, that this person came over in consequence of that severe edict of the Emperor Valentinian, A. D. 425, as before noticed. It is equally probable that others came over at the same time; but whatever countenance and support this event might have given to the Pelagian cause in Britain, so as now to attract the notice of the continental churches, it can hardly be thought that our island should continue so long unpolluted with the errors of a man who was a native of the country. Britain was now deserted by the Romans, ever since the year 410, owing to the imperial forces being called home to the defence of Italy, against those incursions of the barbarians which threatened, what they afterwards effected, the overthrow of the empire. Under those circumstances the Emperor Honorius sent to the states of Britain, enjoining them to defend themselves, and maintain their own independence. Thus situated, the churches of Britain were reduced to a state in which they had little communication with Rome; and what was doing among them was little known abroad, until the coming over of those refugees from Gaul, who found a welcome reception among a people always wavering, and fond of novelty.

Before we proceed to consider the measures pursued for the suppression of Pelagianism, by the assistance of some of the Gallican clergy, we think it necessary to advert to the civil history of the British nation; only we shall first take some notice of what has been lately ad-

vanced respecting the origin of Pelagianism, by some of our Cambro-British antiquaries.

We have seen that Pelagius's fault was that he magnified the powers of reason, and the energies of the human will, in opposition to the humiliating truth that our nature is in a fallen state, and that nothing but the special grace of God can rescue us from such a state, and restore us to the image of God, in which the first man was created. Pelagius, or Morgan, being a Briton, some late writers * have attempted to account for his peculiar tenets from his having mingled with his religion certain metaphysical subtilties of the lore of the Druids. From the philosophy of those ancient sages of our country, it appears that they entertained very high notions of the powers of the human mind; but whether these speculations were the original philosophy of the heathen Druids in remote ages, or the refinements of a rather later period, may admit of some debate. They were considered by ancient authors, it is certain, as being possessed of a kind of philosophy, which contained the rude lineaments of certain doctrines held by Pythagoras, the same as form part of the dogmata of the Hindu Brahmins. From the tenaciousness of the old Britons of every thing connected with the remote traditions of the country, and the unbounded influence the Druid priests and bards had over them; the speculative reveries of that order of men would continue to interest the curious, and its superstitions be venerated among a Semi-Christian populace, long after the formal abolition of heathen idolatry. The generality of the people were but very partially instructed, even in the forms of Christianity, in the age of Pelagius.

* See Mr. Owen's *Cambrian Biography*, article *Morgan*; and a sketch of the history of religion among the ancient Britons, drawn up by Mr. William Richards in the *Theological Repository* for 1807.

It was agreeable both to the policy and the refinement of the Romans to explode the rites of Druidism, while the light of the gospel exposed the gross absurdity of Polytheism and idolatry. But neither the Roman power, nor the superiority of the Christian religion, would easily overcome the attachment of the people to the superstitions of their ancestors. But if it be true, what some have affirmed, that the Christian clergy were selected from among the Bards, then we may easily conceive that their former notions, in many respects, would give a strong tincture to their new religion.

An ingenious author does not scruple to aver that the objects of their old superstition had their votaries, at a later period than this, not only among the Bards, but among the great body of the British nation. The same author is justified in saying that the profession of Christianity was, at that time, very imperfect among the Britons. "That many of the populace were disciples of Pelagius" is too evident: but that his doctrine may be traced to "the heterogeneous tissue of Druidism, blended with a few shreds of Christianity," is a conclusion which remains to be cleared up.

That the Pelagian sentiments may possibly have gained admission the more readily in Gaul and Britain, from their affinity to certain tenets of Druidism, cannot be controverted. But there are considerations which incline me to hesitate whether Pelagius imbibed his doctrinal errors from the Druidic or Bardic lore. I would beg the reader's attention to the following particulars:

1. Morgan left his native country when a young man; and he lived some time at Rome in great repute before he was charged with unsound doctrine.

2. We are told that the errors, propagated by himself and Celestius, were previously taught by Ruffinus.

physical humour, and drawing improper inferences from the doctrine of man's free-agency.

It must, therefore, be upon the most superficial ground that it has been stated, "That Britain was considered as the nursery or fountain head of this heresy—That it does not appear that any change had taken place in the faith of the British Christians, or that it had become materially different from what it was while Pelagius was at Rome." As to what immediately follows, the reader may compare it with the evidence already produced from the most respectable authorities: "Nor does it appear that he had imbibed any new opinions since he had gone abroad (at least not any of the heterodox kind); or that he had sent back disciples to disseminate new tenets among his countrymen, although such ideas have been held out by the generality of ecclesiastical historians, both ancient and modern."

From what high authority Mr. W. R. takes upon him to contradict the generality of ecclesiastical historians, we are not informed; nor is it easy to comprehend from whence a man can derive his acquaintance with the affairs of the ancient church, but from history. It is not affirmed, certainly, by historians, that Pelagius sent disciples to disseminate his tenets among his countrymen. He was probably sunk into obscurity, if not dead, before there was any stir made as to those opinions in Britain.

We have already enquired how far it is probable that the doctrines in question owed their origin "to a tincture of Druidism, imbibed from a long intercourse with the votaries of that ancient institution; many of whom, from time immemorial, had become proselytes to Christianity."

That many of the old British Christians were tinctured with a predilection for their old superstitions, we have too much reason to believe; and to this we are to

attribute their instability. But to assert, as this writer and an eminent antiquary have done, that the Pelagian doctrine was the received doctrine of the British church before Pelagius, is setting up their own word in opposition to all antiquity: but if the church was in so half-Christianized a state; then, indeed, such a doctrine has, from thence, less sanction to uphold it than of just opprobrium as being the curse of a people whom it was so difficult to bring over to embrace Christianity, unmingled with a corrupt tincture of heathenism. Let those, therefore, who are for exalting the dignity of human nature, in opposition to the necessity of Divine Grace, like Pelagius, consider what a view this give us of a system of doctrine which is but a mixture of Heathenism and Christianity. He who denies our fall in Adam cannot consistently believe in our restoration through Christ.

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CHAPTER VI.

The spread of Pelagianism into Britain. The state of the country during the latter end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century.

HAVING discussed the nature of those tenets, usually ascribed to our countryman Pelagius, and collected what accounts have been left us respecting the man, we might now turn our attention to the history of the British churches; and particularly inquire how far our Britons were infected with the errors of their countryman Pelagius; and what means were used to restrain the spread of Pelagianism among them.

But before we proceed with the history of the church, it will be necessary to take a survey of the civil and political occurrences, which relate to the incursions of the neighbouring barbarous tribes from the north; events which ultimately led to the introduction of the Saxons, and their subsequent establishment in Britain.

Various attempts were made by the Romans to extend their conquests over the whole of the island; and of this they seem, at one time, to have entertained a strong hope: but, after the death of Severus, this was abandoned, and the province extended no farther than the Clyde and the Forth. The country, southward of those boundaries, strengthened by forts and ramparts, as far as the great Roman wall in Northumberland, was the scene of frequent contests between the natives and the Roman Britons. The rude and unsubdued Caledonians

frequently over-ran that part of the province, and were joined by many of the fierce natives, who were intolerant of the Roman yoke; so that during the last period of the Roman ascendancy in the island, the country between the two walls was renounced by the imperial forces, not that they had ever completely subjugated it, for then there had been no need of erecting the rampart of Adrian, succeeded by the great wall of Severus.

The Caledonian warriors, styled barbarians by the imperial writers, and described in the most frightful colours by Gildas, as fierce marauding savages, make a very different appearance in the poems ascribed to Ossian, when their triumphs over the lords of the world are celebrated. The success of the son of Comhal, after defeating the Roman force, under Caracalla, the son of Severus, is celebrated by the Caledonian muse—
 “Who comes from the land of strangers with his thousands around him? The sun-beam pours its bright stream before him; his hair meets the wind of his hills. Who is it but Comhal’s son, the king of mighty deeds? He beholds his hills with joy; he bids a thousand voices rise. We have fled over your fields, ye sons of the distant lands! The king of the world sits in his hall, and hears of his people’s flight.” But we have not now to speak of those brave Caledonians fighting in defence of their own country, but of their descendants, rushing down like a cataract upon the civilized Britons, despoiling them of their property, ravaging their fertile plains, and making a sport of slaughter and bloodshed.

The banditti that infested the Roman province, are generally known under the name of Picts and Scots. The former were the inhabitants of North Britain, and particularly on the Eastern coast; the latter were originally from Ireland, and had settled on the western shores of Caledonia, and must be distinguished from the

primitive inhabitants of that country. The coast of Wales was greatly annoyed by the Irish tribes, who committed frequent depredations, and sometimes settled in considerable force, in different parts of the country, until the martial spirit of the Cymry was roused, and by joint exertions the foe was expelled.

As the Scots are supposed to have settled in Argyle about the year 320, this will account for the union between them and the Picts, in their incursions upon the province. The first incursion of any considerable moment that we read of happened about the year 360. In an attempt upon the province at that time they were speedily routed by the approach of the Roman forces, by whom they were compelled to make a hasty retreat, but not before they had obtained considerable plunder from the inhabitants.*

In the year 364, South-Britain was exposed to a furious incursion from the marauders of the North, under the name of the Picts, the Scots, and the Attacotti. The Picts are now mentioned as consisting of two nations, the Deucaledonians and the Vecturones: and as to the Attacotti, they were a wild race of Highland people from the country bordering on Loch Lomond, of whom St. Jerom gives a dismal account, informing us that he had seen some of those people in the

* The Picts are the Gwydhel-Fichti of the old Welsh writers, and are sometimes called *Brithwyr*; and it appears pretty evident from several passages in ancient writers, that they were called *Picti* by the Romans, as a people that still continued in that uncivilized state, in which they found all the Britons; and thus their name as well as habits distinguished them from the provincial Britons. Usher, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, following Bede, have contended for the Scandinavian origin of the Picts; while Camden, Whitaker, Henry, Smollet, and McPherson, regard them as the genuine natives of Caledonia. There were districts of South Britain that were ready enough to coalesce in any attempt to oppose the Roman power.

imperial army, in his youthful days; and that the common report respecting them was, that human flesh was deemed by them their most delicious repast.

While Britain was thus over-run by the depredations of the rude tribes of Caledonians, joined by the wild Hibernian rovers, the Franks and Saxons also came and pillaged the coasts, so that the whole island was in a flame. It required, therefore, a powerful force, led by some great commander, to repress the depredators, and to rescue the province from its calamitous situation. It is difficult for us to conceive how so large a territory should so easily be laid waste and over-run, without the supposition that the great body of the inhabitants were not well-affected to the Roman government; and if they were become a dispirited people that felt they had no country of their own to defend, we can easily account for their pusillanimity.

In order to rescue the province, the Emperor Valentinian sent over the celebrated Theodosius, father to the great emperor of that name. The general took with him several bands of Roman veterans, and lost no time after his landing to meet the enemy. In his march from Sandwich to London, he defeated several parties of the barbarians; released a multitude of captives; and after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, he restored the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London received the hero with exulting joy as their deliverer; and, by his consummate skill and bravery, he soon routed the invaders, and drove them home. By pursuing his conquests, Theodosius restored the country, between the two walls, to the Roman empire; and gave it, in honour of the emperor, the name of Valentia.* He diligently restored

* See Gibbon, Vol. III. c. 25.

the ruined cities, and made the fortifications secure, after rescuing every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy.

The valour and prudence of this able and political general raised him to high estimation in Britain, which he left in such a state of defence as to provide for its tranquillity for many years. The first interruption of this happy state of things was occasioned by the adherence of the Britons to the standard of the usurper Maximus, who in the year 381 aspired to supreme power.

Maximus, a Spaniard by birth, had the command of the imperial forces, which he led forth with great success against the Picts and Scots, who were seldom quiet for any length of time. By these actions he gained popularity both among the Roman troops and the natives, whom he further attached to himself by marrying into an illustrious British family. Having taken the resolution of setting up for himself, he mustered a large body of troops, partly Roman, and partly, if not mostly, British; and with these he crossed the seas into Gaul, where he met with but little opposition; for the army of Gaul received him with joyful acclamations, while the indolent Gratian, then at Paris, seeing his standard forsaken by his troops, fled precipitately towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse. There he was delivered into the hands of Andragathius, master of the cavalry of the usurper. The death of the emperor was followed by the death of one of his most powerful generals, Mellobaudes, king of the Franks. The successes of Maximus, emboldened him to make proposals to the Emperor Theodosius, who governed the East. That Emperor found it necessary to dissemble his resentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant, the murderer of his benefactor. At the same time it was stipulated

that Maximus should content himself with the countries on this side the Alps, whereby he was acknowledged Emperor of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Germany.

Had Maximus remained satisfied with this ample territory, he might have ended his days in peace; but he aspired to the entire empire of the west. He marched over the Alps into Italy, and bid fair at one time for success: but Theodosius hastened from Constantinople to quell the tyrant. A fierce conflict in Pannonia decided the fate of Maximus, by giving success to the arms of Theodosius. Maximus fled to Aquileia in Italy; but he had scarcely reached that city when he was surrounded by his victorious enemy. The indignation of the people, and the disaffection of the soldiers, conspired to deliver him up to his fate. He was conducted like a malefactor to the camp of Theodosius, who abandoned him to the rage of his soldiers, by whom his head was severed from his body. Such was the end of Maximus, whose ambition was not only ruinous to himself, but to the country where he first set up his title to sovereign power, for he drained Britain of her warlike youth, and left her a prey to the inroads of her barbarian neighbours. A. D. 388.

The native Britons, who had followed Maximus to the continent, were not present at either of the two engagements which decided the fate of their adventurous leader. Maximus had a son named Victor, born of a British lady, and to whom he expected the Britons would be ardently attached. This youth headed an army who engaged in defending the cause of the usurper and his son, in Gaul; but the son shared the misfortunes of the father, for the British troops were defeated, and Victor fell at the head of them. In this most pitiable condition they had been left exposed to the insults of a triumphant enemy, forlorn and destitute, until that in

their wanderings, they found an asylum in Armorica or Britany. This account has been contradicted, most strenuously, by the French historians, who deny that our insular Britons formed any settlement on the continent, until after the Saxon invasion. But whether it was from this circumstance, or rather from subsequent events, that the British race obtained a decided predominance in the territory of Armorica, we shall not take upon us to decide.*

We shall not, therefore, detain the reader here, in either controverting or defending what has been commonly asserted, as to the establishment of a dynasty among the French Bretons, under Conan Meriadoc, and the princes who are said to have succeeded him, from the year 384. The statements of the British chronicle on that subject are of considerable antiquity; although the Abbé Vertot, and other writers, will not admit of the coming over of the insular colony before the invasion of the Franks, nor allow that the Bretons were ever independent of that people. Of this, however, we are assured, from our most ancient documents, that, of the large host that followed Maximus, none returned home; we must, therefore, from the nature of the case infer, that they obtained settlements somewhere; and tradition states that it was in Armorica. The connexion between the Cambro-Britons and the people of Armorica was of very ancient standing, as appears by the languages of both people, which are so nearly allied even in this remote age.

Conan, Lord of Meiriadoc, or the region of Denbigh,

* See Vertot *Histoire de Bretons*—Discours preliminaire. That author being determined to espouse the hypothesis, of the dependence of Britany on the French crown from the time of Clovis, seems too partial to be altogether depended upon, even by those who are rather sceptical as to the affirmations of Geoffry of Monmouth.

was nephew to Eudaf, or Octavius, Lord of Ewias, whose daughter Elen was married to Maximus. This Conan is said to have obtained a territory in Armorica for himself and his countrymen, and to be succeeded by princes of the same race. These were probably chieftains that had power over a small territory, comprising a part of Britany, and not the whole of that extensive province; which, it is probable, was never strictly independent of the Romans, nor afterwards of the Franks: *Emyr*, who is mentioned as one of the Armoric sovereigns, was nephew to Germanus, or St. Garmon; and his country was, in all probability, that which includes the Dioceses of St. Paul de Leon and Vannes, where the language of the natives is radically the same as that of the principality of Wales.*

The disordered state of South Britain, in consequence of the emigration of the flower of the British youth to the continent, and the disasters that there befel them; as well as the absence of the Roman legionaries, left the country once more exposed to the ravages of the extra-provincial hordes, assisted by the Hibernian Scots. To augment the evil, it is said, in the British Chronicle, that the emperor Gratian, in order to harass his rival Maximus, had incited many of the Scandinavian rovers to infest the north of Britain. Whether those barbarians, who, in the present instance, fell upon the province, were from the highlands of Caledonia, or from certain districts between the Solway and the Clyde, can-

* Britany includes several districts, which a certain author, whom I cite from memory only, enumerates to be eight. In three of these the ancient Breton language is generally the popular dialect; in three more, both French and Breton are spoken promiscuously; in the remaining two the French, and not the Breton, is the popular language. There is the same variation in the counties of Wales.

not be decided; but their numbers were great, and their ravages carried terror and dismay wherever they advanced. The words of Gildas express, "That now the country being left destitute of all its soldiery, and so vast a portion of its youth, and the remnant of the inhabitants being unaccustomed to war; they were infested by two savage and furious tribes, the Scots from the north-west (*a. Circio*), and the Picts from the north, by whom they were spoiled, groaning under their ravages for many years." This was the first of the three terrible devastations described by Gildas. We see that although the provincial Britons were at times oppressed by the Roman officers; yet, being now civilized, and put in possession of the comforts and conveniences of polished life, all their affairs were so intimately blended with the Roman interests, that they now considered the lords of the world as their fathers and kind protectors. Britain was also considered as a province of that importance, that the imperial court regarded it with no small solicitude. The death of Maximus once more restored it to the Roman empire; and after some delay, occasioned by the particular posture of affairs, it was rescued from its calamitous situation.

The emperor Theodosius ordered succours to be sent to Britain; but these did not arrive until after his death, as may be conjectured from the words of Gildas, that the Britons groaned for many years under their distress; and, according to Richard of Cirencester, it was not until the year 396 that the supplies arrived; and this was the year after the death of Theodosius. It was now more than ten years from the death of Maximus, and the province must have been sadly desolated by the incursions of the barbarous tribes; but this delay may have been occasioned by the perverseness of rival officers, aiming to set up the standard of independence,

until it was resolved to submit entirely to the imperial sway.

The command of the legion for the protection of Britain, or rather the direction of the whole affair, devolved on the celebrated *Stilicho*; but that great soldier and statesman did not come over to the island in person, as may be inferred from his important station of guardian to the sons of Theodosius, the young princes Arcadius and Honorius.

The muse of Claudian celebrates the deliverance of Britain, the praise of which is ascribed to *Stilicho*.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit
Me juvit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys
Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremarem, ne littore tito
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

The Roman legion, having driven the enemy out of the province, were called away by some exigency, according to Gildas; but not before they had given proper instruction to the Britons how to act; and, among other things, ordered them to form a rampart from sea to sea for their defence, or rather to repair the wall of *Antonine*, or *Græme's Dyke*, which ran from Dunbarton on the *Clyde*, across Stirlingshire, to the *Forth*. This, the old historian says, the Britons of that quarter did with turf rather than with stone, for want of skill in masonry. This wall running across from sea to sea,* that is, from one estuary to the other, was designed to repel the incursions of the Highlanders: but, without proper garri-

* Jussit construere inter duo maria trans insulam murum, ut esset arcendis hostibus a turbâ intractus terrori civitasque tutamini. Qui vulgo irrationabili absque rectore factus, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus, non profuit.

sons and brave soldiers, it could never effect that intention, although it had been made of brass.

Bede mentions the remains of that famous rampart being conspicuous in his age. It began at almost two miles' distance from the monastery of *Abercarnig*, that is, a place at the mouth of the river *Carron*, where now *Abercorn* castle stands, not far from *Blackness*: running across the country (near the line of the present great canal) it terminated near *Kilpatrick*, within about two miles of *Dunbritton*, called anciently *Alcluyd*, and *Caer-Alcluyd*, and in the Ossianic fragments *Bal-blutha*.

The state of the Roman empire was now such that it was assailed on all quarters by Barbarians, who had learned the art of war from the Romans, whose power they thought themselves competent to dispute. About A. D. 400, the legion stationed in Britain was ordered over to the continent, to increase the force necessary to repel the Huns, with the furious Alaric at their head. Claudian refers to this; for, after noticing the various force of the empire that was mustered together, to effect the defeat of the monarch of the Huns, he mentions the legion, which had been stationed at the extremity of Britain to repress the ferocious Scots and Picts.*

The Roman force being withdrawn, the old depredators from the north were not long quiet. "They returned in their accustomed manner like hungry and voracious wolves, (says Gildas), breaking into the sheepfold, and destroying all before them with remorseless fury." The Britons, having neither skill nor courage, it would appear, to oppose their enemies, were in danger of becoming an entire prey to them. The Romans had

* Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis
 Quam Scotò dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
 Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.

not accustomed the native Britons to the use of arms, except a few whom they incorporated as auxiliaries in the Roman armies; and since the usurpation of Maximus, they were, it is probable, become more cautious in that respect. The barbarians, in their first progress, would also have the opportunity of compelling numbers of the rude peasantry to join them, while the inhabitants of the towns and cities, enervated by luxury and sloth, trembled at the approach of those savage marauders. In this miserable state, they dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to implore the succours which their ancient protectors were capable of affording them. Their pitiful tale was attended to by the court of Rome, which was now becoming rather indifferent to the situation of Britain, from which they had latterly derived but little benefit; and they had sufficient employ for the troops elsewhere, in the present state of the empire. Troops, however, were sent, who hastened to the scene of combat with all possible speed, which Gildas describes in his stile of rude eloquence. The achievements of the Roman legion, upon their arrival, are depicted by Gildas in a manner peculiarly his own: "The Romans, being affected, as much as it was possible for human nature to be, with the tragic narration of the Britons, flew like the eagle through the air, like a swift horse skimming over the plain, or a ship making his rapid course over the waters: thus they, with the greatest velocity, suddenly came upon the enemy before he was aware of their approach; they make them feel the keen edge of their weapons; and the dreadful slaughter which ensued was like the force of the mountain torrent, augmented by the frequent tempestuous currents, and overflowing its channel with its sonorous meandering, and raised aloft with furrowed ridge and angry front (as they say), wonderfully foaming up to the clouds; (while the pupils of the

eyes, although often relieved by the convolutions of the eye-lids, are obscured by the sparkling refractions) until at once it is swallowed up in the vortex that receives it: in like manner our glorious allies swiftly chased over the sea the hostile bands, if any of them indeed had room to escape."

This sketch of mountain scenery, as Mr. Turner calls it, is indeed in a style rumbling, rough, and fierce, like the object described. There is a rude grandeur in the conception, although obscured by the badness of the Latinity; and one thing ought particularly to be attended to, that Gildas, in all probability, was a British Bard, which accounts for the turgidity of his style. It is no implausible supposition, that Gildas wrote in his own native tongue, and that his piece was afterwards translated into Latin, as it bears a great similarity to the style of a translation.

The Britons were no sooner freed from one plague than they were infested by another; for, upon the death of the emperor Honorius, the Roman troops, who were elated it would seem with their late successes, broke into open mutiny, and proceeded to elect an emperor for themselves. Three persons were within the space of three months, successively elevated to the sovereign dignity. They had a pretext for this, from the successful irruptions of several nations from the north of Europe, who crossed the Rhine into Gaul, and threatened Britain itself. Stilicho, the bulwark of the empire, while he was defending Italy against the barbarians, was charged with secretly conniving at their approaches, in order to augment his own glory by their defeat, and to induce Honorius to admit his son to partake with him of the imperial dignity. That great minister, intoxicated with ambition, was now hastening to his downfall, involving both himself and the empire in ruin. "The

double dealing of his ambition," says Turner, "excited invasions which he wished to have the merit of repressing; it introduced the barbarian hordes into the provinces, who quitted them no more; it occasioned rebellions which completed the debility of the imperial government; and it paved the way for the complete extinction of the western empire."

The person who was first honoured with the title of emperor of the Roman-British army was one Marcus; but he was quickly deposed, and Gratian, called Gratian Municeps, was elected in his stead. But the soldiers, supposing they had the same power to uncreate as they had to create, not being pleased with their new sovereign, after he had reigned four months, deposed him, and then put him to death: whether this was done through the envy of individuals, or because of alleged misconduct, is not stated. A soldier of the name of Constantine was then made the subject of their choice, his name alone being regarded as auspicious.

This Constantine appears to have possessed some portion of energy and talent. He trained many of the British youth to the use of arms; and transported them all, with the best of the regular troops, to the Continent. His first adventures were successful, for he conciliated the Roman soldiers on the Continent, and defeated the barbarians; his authority was acknowledged in Gaul, and he reduced Spain. His son Constans, who had devoted himself to a monastic life before the elevation of his father, was now made Caesar. Constantine sent his apology to the emperor Honorius, stating that the imperial dignity was forced upon him: the emperor thought it prudent to connive at his usurpation, and sent him the imperial robes.

The terrible Alaric was now assembling his forces to march to the gates of Rome, Stilicho having undergone

us that upon the death of Constantine, and the taking of Rome by the Goths, the Roman empire in Britain ended, four hundred and sixty-five years after the arrival of Julius Cæsar on our coasts,

The horrid picture which Gildas draws of the third terrible devastation, may perhaps apply to some period not long previous to the fatal council of Vortigern to call in the Saxons. But, in consequence of the defection of Constantine, the country must have been greatly exposed to the ravages of the northern barbarians; and nothing but an extraordinary effort of valour, directed by a well-concerted coalition of the native chiefs, could save the country from instant destruction.

On the subject of the independence of Britain, I shall give the words of the author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman empire*;

“ Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces which guarded that remote island had been withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength.* Afflicted by similar circumstances, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul, between

* Here Mr. Gibbon has a note:—“ Zosimus,” he remarks, “ relates, in a few words, the revolt of Britain and Armorica. Our antiquarians, even the great Camden himself, have been betrayed into many gross errors by their imperfect knowledge of the history of the continent.”

the Seine and the Loire,) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. They expelled the Roman magistrates who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the west; and the letters by which he committed to the new states the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty. Britain was irrecoverably lost.* But as the emperors wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.

The Roman veterans, several of whom continued in the island after the departure of the Legionaries, encouraged and assisted the natives to repulse their enemies, which they accomplished in the most successful manner. The Romans, who had settled in the island, at length resolved to quit a country so continually exposed to hostile incursions; and, therefore, carrying with them their money and effects, they departed for the continent. It may be added, now that the Britons were become an independent people, the remnant of the Romans met with

* Mr. Gibbon here refers to a passage in Procopius, in which that historian observes, that the Romans now found it out of their power to rescue Britain from its misfortunes. *Βρεταννίαν μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔχον.* Procopius de Bello Vandal. l. i. c. 2.

but little respect among a people who could not fail regarding them with a jealous eye.

The Roman-Britons now returned to their old government, under their provincial chiefs, or petty sovereigns, who upon extraordinary occasions formed a national council to concert measures for the public safety. Even under the Romans many of these retained their former titles and nominal honours, although stripped of their power and territory: but as, by the aid of their Bards who were the heralds and pursuivants of their families, their pedigrees were kept distinct, they were now reinstated in their ancient tenures.*

If the Britons of the province had now acted their part well, they had it in their power to become a happy and flourishing people: but mutual jealousies and discords disturbed them incessantly; and this was one great reason that they had no well-concerted plans of defence, and were so liable to be overrun by the barbarians from the north. Their indolence, and petty warfares among themselves, to complete their misfortunes, frequently occasioned their being exposed to the horrors of famine. When plenty again succeeded, they gave themselves up to all manner of wickedness.

The state of religion among such a people must have been so very low as perhaps to justify the conclusion, that in many places the very external appearance of it was scarcely attended to. The loss of the support and patronage afforded by the Roman government to the places of worship and the clergy, would necessarily prove a great detriment to the church in Britain. The cause of learning and of science could not fail of sus-

* This view of the period of our history alluded to, has been adopted by Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Turner, as well as Mr. Whitaker.

taining material injury by the withdrawing of that protection afforded by the Romans; and by the secession of many eminent men from the island now when it ceased to continue subject to the imperial government. We shall find these remarks verified by what we shall have to advance in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

The suppression of Pelagianism in Britain, by the arrival of Garmon and Lupus from the Continent. The state of the British church during the fifth century.

THE troublesome state of affairs in this country, during the commencement of the fifth century, has been the subject of our investigation; but the commotions of a religious kind were not less violent than those of a civil nature. The disputes respecting the tenets of Pelagius increased to that degree that it became necessary to have recourse to the interposition of foreign divines; while at the same time we are informed that a foreigner was the means of first introducing those disputes among the Britons. This is said to have been done about the year 420; but it seems hardly credible that the native country of Pelagius should continue uninfected with his errors until that time. But it may have been in this case something similar to other instances, when the commencement of any thing prosperous or adverse is frequently dated from the time noted by some conspicuous incident. There were Britons, as well as persons from other countries of western Europe, who were in the habit of visiting Palestine: to these Pelagius had the opportunity of communicating his sentiments; and these men having imbibed the Pelagian errors, would consequently convey them home on their return. But however this may have been, those errors

soon made considerable progress in the British church; so that at a period when the country was sufficiently harassed, as we have seen, with intestine commotions, the church also was disturbed by the diffusion of novel opinions in religion. Britain was so utterly destitute of able divines, to oppose the progress of these errors, that recourse was had to the aid of the Gallican church, which itself had been considerably exercised in that controversy. The Popish historians here find, as they imagine, a fit opportunity for proving the supreme authority of the church of Rome, at so early a period; affirming that Pope Celestine, upon the representation of Palladius then at Rome, enjoined the bishops of Gaul to appoint proper persons to go over to the island on this service. This supposition has been ably refuted by Bishop Stillingfleet; and had there been truth in it, *Bede* would not have omitted so important a circumstance. The account of that historian is as follows: "The Pelagian heresy, brought over by Agricola the son of Severianus, a bishop of Gaul and a Pelagian, had infected the faith of the British Christians, with its contagious influence. But the Britons, although not prone to embrace this perverse doctrine, so derogatory to the honour of Divine Grace; yet, not being sufficiently expert of themselves to confute the subtle and pernicious arguments of its abettors, they had recourse to the salutary measure of requesting the assistance of the Gallican bishops.* In consequence of this a synod was convened in Gaul, and enquiry was made who were the most proper persons to undertake such a mission, when by unanimous consent Germanus, bishop of

* In the Book of Landaff, as referred to by Abp. Usher, p. 182, it appears that the British church had frequently sent over to implore the assistance of their brethren in France, previous to the coming over of Germanus and Lupus.

Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes,* were deemed the most proper persons to go over to establish the Britons in the true faith." These holy men, thus sanctioned by the church, and set apart by their prayers, crossed the seas, and arrived in Britain A.D. 429.

Both Germanus and Lupus, or, as the Welsh historians call them, Garmon and Bleiddian, are spoken of as men eminent for personal sanctity, and their profound skill in ecclesiastical controversy; and indeed from their singular success, in accomplishing the mission confided to them, and by all they did in Britain, we have reason to consider them as no mean men. The necessity of their coming over, at the same time, indicates the helpless situation of the church in this island; the Britons being as unable to oppose their spiritual as their temporal enemies, without the aid of foreign auxiliaries.

Garmon was the son of Rhedyw, or Ridigius, and the uncle of Emyr Llydaw, an Armoric prince, who, with many of his children, are ranked among the saints of that age.

Among other marks of veneration for the memory of Garmon, the metropolitan church of the Cornish Britons bore his name. Several churches in Wales are dedicated to him under the name of St. Harmon.†

Lupus, or Bleiddian, was brother to the celebrated Vincentius Lirinensis, the author of the *Commonitorium*. It is to his memory that the church of Llan-Bleiddian, in Glamorgan, is dedicated.

It appears a little remarkable, that the Gallican

* Bede denominates these Gallican divines, *Apostolici Sacerdotes*, Germanus Altisiodorensis et Lupus Trecassensæ civitatis Episcopi.

† See Owen, in his *Cambrian Biography*, where he takes his information from *Achau'r Saint*; and Mr. Whitaker's *History of the ancient Cathedral of Cornwall*, Vol. II. p. 120, &c.

bishops, many of whom were charged with being Semi-Pelagians, should be so zealous for the defence of the Catholic faith in Britain. Vincentius Lirinensis was a great stickler in the Semi-Pelagian cause, and Lupus his brother is said to have been of the same society. The inference we may draw from hence is very obvious, that several respectable and judicious ecclesiastics were charged with Semi-Pelagianism, while they were strenuous opposers of the errors of Pelagius, merely because they could not subscribe to certain peculiar tenets of Jerome and Augustine. This was the cause of warm disputes between Celestine, bishop of Rome, and the Gallican clergy; and which renders it improbable, that Celestine should sanction the mission of persons obnoxious to him, and especially Lupus. But the bishops of that church now rejoiced at the opportunity offered them, of displaying their zeal against Pelagianism, by sending two of their number into Britain to oppose its progress.

What we are to understand by the charge of Semi-Pelagianism, the stigma fixed on the clergy of the church of Gaul, we may learn from two very particular circumstances. The first relates to Hilary, bishop of Arles, who by his writings had so far displeased Augustine, by advancing some things contrary to the doctrines he taught, that the holy father took up his pen, and wrote two books upon Predestination and Perseverance, in answer to Hilary. We may from hence give a tolerable guess, as to what the unsoundness of Hilary consisted in: he unfortunately believed not in the Augustinian dogmas on predestination.*

* Prosper, in an epistle to Augustine, acknowledges that Hilary adhered in all things to the doctrines which he taught, with the exception only of what he advanced on the article of Predestination.—See Usher, p. 186.

The other circumstance respects Vincentius Lirinensis, the author of the Commonitorium, or Rule of Faith; the whole design of which, according to Stillingfleet, was levelled against those who went about to broach a new doctrine respecting predestination, and that in Augustine's name. "They who carefully read over that discourse," adds the bishop, "and consider the drift of it, will find I am not mistaken: but Baronius is, when he would clear the author of the Commonitorium, far from favouring those who opposed St. Augustine's doctrine about Predestination. This was quite a different thing from favouring Pelagianism, which Cassianus, Faustus, and this Vincentius, all professed to abhor."*

From the consideration of these things, we may learn to form a judgment respecting the character and tenets of the bishops, who came over from Gaul to reclaim the Britons from the unsound doctrines which they had embraced. We see how little probability there is for the affirmation, that they were delegated by the bishop of Rome, or implicitly followed St. Augustine's doctrine; and consequently with what degree of justice or truth a celebrated antiquarian could affirm what follows:

"The true object of the mission of Garmon, was to bring the British Christians under the discipline and power of the Catholic church (Mr. Owen, I apprehend, means the Roman church), then beginning to aspire to that universal dominion which, soon after, it established over the western empire."†

It remains with Mr. Owen to prove, wherein the church of Britain became more dependent on the church of Rome, after the mission of Garmon, than it was before. Bishop Stillingfleet has clearly shewn that every

* Origines Britannicæ.

† See Cambrian Biography, article Garmon. Usher, p. 176. from Bede and Constantius. Whitaker's Cornwall, Vol. I. p. 266.

probability makes against the supposition, that either Garmon, or his coadjutor Lupus, or the bishops of Gaul, acted under the influence of the Roman see.

The two prelates being arrived in Britain, were welcomed by a multitude of orthodox Christians. They soon applied themselves with the greatest assiduity and zeal to their work. The ancient biographer of Germanus informs us, " that these apostolic priests quickly filled the island with their conversations, with their preachings, with their virtues: and being daily surrounded with assembled crouds, the word of God was disseminated, not only in the churches, but also through the streets of the towns, through the lanes and villages of the country, through the wilds and mountains; so that the faithful and orthodox Christians were established every where, and the perverted recognized the truth under their correcting tongues. There was in them, as in the apostles, a glory and an authority derived from the consciousness of their Divine mission, an ability for instruction from their stores of literature, and virtues that rendered them illustrious. Moreover, an additional honour marked them; and thus truth itself seemed more venerable when defended by such able advocates: the people in general, therefore, wherever they went, passed over readily into their sentiments. The preachers of the sinister persuasion lay lurking in secret; and, like the malignant spirit, lamented the loss of the people, now leaving them in crouds. At length, after long deliberation, they presume to encounter them in a public debate. They come forward ostentatiously, displaying their wealth by the splendour of their dress, surrounded by a host of their admirers; and they choose to run the risk of an encounter, rather than incur from the people, whom they had perverted, the reproach of not replying to their opponents, and so appearing self-condemned by

their silence. A multitude of people, nearly immense, was collected together on the day, and in the place appointed, bringing their wives and their children with them. The people present, were at the same time spectators and judges. The parties stood forward, discriminated by the difference of their condition : here was Divine authority, there human presumption ; here belief, there unbelief ; here Christ, there Pelagius, was the patron."

In this public disputation "the holy men, Garmon and Lupus," continues the narrator, "gave their adversaries the opportunity of first addressing the people ; and, in availing themselves of it, they filled the ears of the people, and occupied their time, with their long and empty harangues. Then the venerable prelates poured forth torrents of eloquence, accompanied with the thunders of the apostles and evangelists. Their own words were mingled with the word of God, and their strongest assertions were corroborated by testimonies of Scripture. The heterodox were confuted, for they shewed their inability to defend their cause by declining to make any reply."

The multitude were now so amply satisfied, that in their exultation they were ready to lay hands on the abettors of Pelagianism, and their applauses were exhibited by the loudest acclamations.

This conference, according to ancient tradition, was held at Verolam, or St. Alban's, then one of our largest, if not the first, of all our towns ; although in the present day it displays scarcely the slightest vestige of its former splendour : "but amidst its ruins, it presents," says Mr. Whitaker, "the remains of a chapel constructed on the very ground upon which Germanus stood when he spoke at the conference, and still retaining his name."

It is the name of *Germanus* that is principally spoken

of, he being the senior, and, in all probability, the greatest divine, and the ablest speaker. But *Lupus*, or *Bleiddian*, his junior coadjutor, was not overlooked, for he has a church dedicated to his memory in the vale of Glamorgan, still called LLAN BLEIDDIAN.

As to the nature and character of the debate, it would appear, that the Pelagians aimed at a train of metaphysical reasoning, and fine moral deductions, which took no hold either of the understandings or feelings of the common people. Garmon and his companion were, on the contrary, warm in the defence of truth, delivering themselves with a noble boldness, as men conscious of the soundness and superiority of their cause. Instead of dry sophistical reasonings, they made their appeal to the Sacred Oracles, and triumphed by being mighty in the Scriptures of truth.

These holy men pursued their work, by spreading themselves through the land; and the people shewed, by their readiness to hear them, that they only wanted proper guides, and they were willing to embrace the truth, and adhere to it. Tradition speaks of Germanus in Cornwall, and that probably after he and Bleiddian had spent some time in Wales, where there are several churches consecrated to him; but particularly one in the county of Denbigh, known by the name of St. Harmon, or Lan Armon in Iale. Here we must attend to an extraordinary occurrence, noticed by Constantius and Bede, which, it shall be left to the reader's judgment, whether to class among the extraordinary interpositions of Providence; or to consider it as an event which may be accounted for without having recourse to Divine interference.

The Saxons and Picts had made an inroad into the country; and a body of them, with combined force, were advancing towards that part where Germanus was with

the British Christians ; among whom were several who had recently been baptized by him, and were now attending to the instructions of himself and his colleague Lupus. The prelates being apprised of the enemy's approach, placed themselves at the head of their disciples, whom they were now about to lead in their temporal, as well as spiritual warfare ; the Britons being more disposed to rely on the prayers of these holy men, and to follow their councils, than to confide in their own valour. They do not appear to have made preparations to oppose their enemies in a hostile way ; and of this they were apprised, designing to fall upon them while they were engaged in their religious exercises, and preparing to celebrate Easter, according to the usual practice of the church at that time. But Germanus put himself at the head of a select company, and waited the coming up of the Picts and Scots in a narrow place among hills and rocks. The Britons received instructions what they were to do at the approach of the enemy ; they were ordered to join the prelates in repeating aloud *HALELUIAH*, three times. Accordingly, when the foe was advancing, secure of an easy victory, the two apostolic leaders shouted aloud, while the rest united their voices with theirs ; and the rocks and hills reverberated with the sound of the sacred word, *HALELUIAH*. The desired effect was produced ; the enemy was thrown into consternation, being struck with a sudden panic, as if heaven was about to pour down vengeance upon them for attempting to violate the devout exercises of the Christians ; for it appeared, to their terrified imagination, that the rocks and mountains were ready to fall upon and overwhelm them. The depredators threw down their arms, and fled ; but many of them, in their confusion, were drowned in a water which they had to cross. Thus the Britons, says the ancient narrative, obtained

a bloodless victory; a victory won by faith, and not by force of arms.

The scene of these transactions lay near *Mold*, a town about ten miles from Chester, and fourteen from Denbigh. There is a spot that still bears the name of *MAES GAR-MON*, in reference, it is said, to this remarkable event. It bore that name in the age of Archbishop Usher, as he informs us; and the learned primate was much struck with the coincidence. A gentleman, who owned that place and estate in the last century, set up an elegant obelisk in view of the town, to commemorate what is called the *Halleluia victory*.

Mr. Whitaker, in the appendix to his history of the ancient cathedral of Cornwall, dedicated to Germanus, or St. German, has controverted the whole of this narrative, but not, I think, with his usual success. It is true, if we critically examine the account as expressed in the florid manner of Constantius the ancient biographer of Germanus, who is copied by Bede, there will be found some incongruity in the statement. But making due allowance for the attempt at embellishment, in the old writer, and his want of minute exactness, owing to his defective knowledge of the chorography of the surrounding district, there appears nothing improbable in the main incidents of the transaction. The religious ardour of the Britons, now stirred up by the preaching of the two divines; the heroism and faith of the holy men; and the device of throwing the enemy into consternation, by a sort of spiritual manœuvre; and the nature of the country so suitable for an ambuscade, all taken together, give an air of plausibility to the narrative.

The circumstances of the British church, at that time, as confirmed by various accounts, accord with what we collect from the narrative: the country was relapsing

into a heathen state, and the ordinances of religion had been neglected. There is a church dedicated to the memory of Germanus, in the country where he is said to have exercised his ministry, and assisted the Britons to repel a band of rovers that were ravaging that region. Upon the whole Mr. Whitaker is more specious than solid in his attempt to invalidate the statement of Constantius and Bede.

As to the victory of the Britons, so wonderfully obtained over the Saxons and Picts, there appears some difficulty in accounting for that irruption of the Saxons, as well as the Picts, as early as the year 429 or 430. The Saxons, we know, had infested the British shores on the southern and eastern part of the island for a century before; but the Hibernian Scots were more likely to have effected a junction with the Picts, and penetrate into that part of the island. This difficulty I shall leave to more able antiquaries for their solution; only observing, that if instead of the Saxons and Picts we read the Scots and Picts, the account will appear more congruous. But Archbishop Usher conceived nothing incongruous in this junction of the Saxons and the Picts, as the Saxons had before this time been in the habit of infesting the British shores, and were also accustomed to form alliances with the Picts, in order to commit their depredations on the province.

As to the circumstance of the Saxons being found in the island as early as 429 or 430, and coalescing with the Pictish marauders to distress the provincial Britons, there is not any thing inconsistent with real history in that part of the narration. The pirates of the German and Baltic shores had long distressed the coasts of Britain; and that, in some instances, the Picts should join them is not improbable. But by a mistake of the narrator some would have it the Saxons and Picts are

mentioned instead of the Scots and the Picts, as the Hibernian Scots may easily have effected a landing on the coast of North Wales at any time. But we ought, perhaps, rather to be guided by the positive testimony of antiquity in these incidents, than take upon us to correct old authors, because at this distance of time certain occurrences may to us have an obscure aspect.

As to the various miracles said to have been performed by St. German, I have not thought it worth my while to lay them before the reader; it being my endeavour throughout the whole of this work to pay no attention to statements arising from either the credulity of the ignorant, or the frauds of designing men.

Garmon and Lupus, having succeeded so well in their mission; silencing the Pelagians, and reclaiming those who had been seduced by them; and having settled various things in the British churches conducive to good order and regularity, took their leave, and departed. But these holy men were not long returned home, before Garmon received a message intreating him to take another journey to Britain, in order to renew his former good offices. Garmon acceded to the request; and took with him Severus, bishop of Triers. His labours were again attended with the former success; and, in order to prevent the recurrence of that confusion which had been occasioned by the dissemination of the Pelagian errors, he procured the banishment of those who had taken the lead among the party. After this the Britons were no more infested for a considerable time with that controversy. The dreadful calamities which now threatened the country would surely tend to check such unseasonable disputations. The crisis of their fate, as a nation, was fast approaching.

The second visit of Garmon was of some continuance; probably until the country was overrun by the barbarous

Picts and Scots. Being sensible of the importance of learning, as the grand help-mate of piety; and the necessity of having certain places in those troublesome times which might afford a retreat for those who were candidates for the ministry, that they might pursue their literary studies, and especially the study of theology: he fixed upon a variety of situations in the island favourable for such a design. It is remarkable that all these institutions, of which we have any account, were in Wales. Does not this argue that Christianity had never taken root among the natives, in most other parts of the island,—or why should the attention of those holy men be so entirely directed to one part of the country?

Since the departure of the Romans, the Britons felt severely the loss of those seminaries which flourished under their patronage, in the principal towns (among which Caerleon or Isca Silurum was famed); and the civil commotions among the states of Britain were detrimental to the cultivation of learning and piety.* The Emperor Theodosius gave great encouragement for the establishment of seminaries of learning; and one of those is said to be at Caer-Worgorn, in the vale of Glamorgan. This situation was improved by the labours of Garmon and Lupus, and was formed into a college, where the piously inclined might find a retreat, in their declining years, to devote the remnant of their days to religious contemplation, and the service of God; while others might fit themselves for missionaries and pastors of the flock. I shall here give the account which is handed down in a little work before alluded to, and which has been preserved in that very part of the prin-

* See Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, where this subject is discussed at large.

cipality we are now speaking of, and where these papers are drawn up: (1815)

“Garmon was a saint and a bishop, the son of Ridi-gius, from the land of Gallia; and it was in the time of Constantine of Armorica, that he came here, and continued here to the time of Vortigern; and then he returned back to France, where he died. He formed two choirs of saints, and placed bishops and divines in them, that they might teach the Christian Faith to the nation of the Cymry, where they were become degenerate in the Faith. One choir he formed in *Llan Carvan*, where Dyfric (Dubricius) the saint was the principal, and he himself was bishop there. The other was near *Caer Worgorn*, where he appointed Iltutus to be principal; and Lupus (called Bleiddan) was the chief bishop there. After which he placed bishops in Landaff;* he constituted Dubricius archbishop there; and Cadoc,† the saint, the son of Gwynlliw, took his place in the choir at *Lancarfun*; and the archbishop of Landaff was bishop there also.”

The two places mentioned in this document are well known as to their situation in the country. *Lantwit* is a considerable village; and *Lancarvan* lies in a small romantic dale, encompassed with rising grounds, skirted with woods; and famed in a more recent age for the residence of the Welsh historian, Caradoc, in whose time there was a famous monastery, which succeeded the old British college.

Iltutus was one of the knights of Armorica, nephew to Garmon, and cousin to Prince Emyr; and his mother

* It is evident that some, mentioned here as bishops, were, in reality, of no higher order than that of presbyters; and the whom we would entitle bishop, is here called *pen-egob*, or archbishop.

† There was another Cadoc, the son of Prince Brychan.

was Gweryla, daughter of Tewdric, (or Theodore), king of Glamorgan: he was made principal of the choir (or college), which the Emperor Theodosius instituted in Caer Worgorn; where Patrick, the son of Mawon, had been a teacher of the Faith, before that choir was broken up by the Gwyddelians, (or Irish), and Patrick carried captive to Ireland.

The successor of Iltutus was Peirio, and he was succeeded by Samson.*

The person who bestowed his lands upon Cadocus, at Lancarfan, for the benefit of that institution, was a chief of the name of *Huwgy*.

In styling the Bishop of Landaff the Archbishop, we may see the truth of the tradition, that it was the first Christian church in all that country. The same was afterwards called Archbishop of Caerleon, as being the metropolis of all Britannia Secunda; unless we suppose that Dubricius was made archbishop of Caerleon when Teilo was made bishop of Landaff, who is generally considered as the first bishop of Landaff.†

Archbishop Usher has taken notice of some old legends, which assert that Garmon visited Cambridge; which they say was at that period a famous University. In some old writers there is notice taken of St. Garmon being at a village upon the Severn, which, from the small brook of the name of *Cam*, afterwards obtained the name of *Cambridge*; and from which it was ludicrously inferred that the famous university of that name was

* See some further particulars respecting the college of Iltutus, in a subsequent place.

† The extent of Teilo's charge was called *Pwyr Teilo*, or the parish of Teilo; and some of those termed bishops were but resident pastors. Caerleon, as the capital of the province, was the seat of the archbishop: but such men as Dubric and Teilo preferred the privacy of Landaff. David removed the see to Menevia, in Pembrokeshire.

then in existence. The city of Caerleon, called then Glamorgantia,* might be noticed as a place to which Garmon and his companions resorted, after they had been in the village of *Cantabrigge*, or Cambridge, in Gloucestershire. Caerleon, according to Geraldus Cambrensis, had within its walls a famous seminary, which (if there were any in Britain at that time) may be called an university. There youth were taught astronomy and geometry, and the whole circle of the sciences, agreeable to the learning of those ages.

Garmon not only established schools, and furnished the churches with pastors, but regulated the exercise of public worship, by presenting the British Christians with proper forms of devotion, according to the usage of the Gallican church; and which are in great part retained to the present age, in the liturgy of the established church of England. The last-named circumstance is worthy of the regard of those who are too forward in attributing all forms of prayer to a popish origin.

British Monastic Institutions.

THE turbulent state of affairs may perhaps be allowed to form some excuse for the great propensity which was shewn at this time to withdraw from the world, and embrace a life of retirement and seclusion from all its concerns. Some from principles of devotion, and the love of study, forsook a world whose disturbing and vexatious noise they could not bear; whose vices they wished thus to shun, when they felt unequal to combat

* The ancient Glamorgan, at one time, extended as far as the Usk, or at least near to its banks: and the country of *Gwent* seems to have included, at one time, both Monmouthshire and Glamorgan.

its evils. The aged and the unfortunate sought for refuge from calamity, and a society with whom they might serve God, and prepare for a better world. The religious institutions that had this object in view became numerous among the Cambro-Britons; for, besides Lantwit and Lancarvan, there were several places that all bore the appellation of *Bangors*. These are enumerated in "The Genealogy of the British Saints." Some of these had schools of learning connected with them, and others are to be considered as principally designed for places of retirement and devotion.

The famous college of *Illutus* was sometimes called *Côr Tewdws*, as it originated with the seminary of learning, founded by the Emperor *Theodosius*, whom the Welsh called *Tewdws*. It afterwards bore the name of *Bangor Illut*.

Cadvan and *Padarn*, men of note, who came over with Garmon, were members of this institution, until they were afterwards placed at the head of similar institutions.

The college at *Lancarvan* was called *Bangor Cattwg*, from *Cadoc*, or *Cattwg*, its first principal, or director. It received the name of *Lan-Carvan*, as if it were in remembrance of *Carnoban*, or *Car'van*, the territory of the family of *Caw*, a chief from the borders of Scotland, who fled with his numerous family into Wales; some of them settling in *Mona*, or the island of *Anglesea*; and others in *Siluria*. *Cadoc*, or *Cattwg*, had the honour of giving his name to several churches in the principality.

Gildas, his brother *Peirio*, together with their brothers *Gallgo*, *Maeloc*, *Eigrad*, and *Caffo*, settled at *Lancarvan*.

At *LANDAFF* there was an institution under the direction of *Dubricius* and *Teiliaus*, or *Teilo* the Great,

who were themselves disciples of *Garmon*. This was called *Bangor Teilo*; and was an eminent school during the lives of these two holy men.

Padarn erected a religious institution and school of learning, in the county of Cardigan, near Aberystwith; and the parish church still bears his name, being called *Llan-Budarn*.

Paulinus, a holy man of the college of *Iltutus*, founded an institution at a place called *Tŷ Gwyn ar Daf*, where it is supposed *Whitland Abbey* afterwards stood. He was assisted by the sons of *Ithel*, called the *Generous*, a chieftain from *Armorica*.

Tathan, to whom there is a church dedicated, in the vale of Glamorgan, founded an institution at *Caer Went*, in *Monmouthshire*, under the patronage of *Ynyr*, the prince of the surrounding territory. *Tathan* was nephew to *Iltutus*, and one of his disciples.

Dubricius is said to have had a famous school upon the *Wye*,* which some suppose to have been situated at *Gwenddor*, in *Brecknockshire*. There was a similar one at *Mochros*; but it is uncertain where that was. The place of his nativity was on the river *Gwain*, in *Pembrokeshire*, according to some authors; but it was more probably on the *Wye* side. He died at *Ramsay*, A. D. 522.†

The most celebrated place, as a situation for devout retirement, was the island of *Enlli*, or *Ramsay*, off the western coast of *North Wales*. This was under the

* *Ceredig*, the son of *Cunetha*, was the founder of this, at a place called *Wick*: this college was destroyed by the Saxons; in consequence of which one was founded at *Menevia*, and another at *Ty Gwyn*, on the river *Tivy*.

† He was called *Dubric*, the Golden-Headed. *Bale* styles him *Gwynisienus*; and an old Bard calls him *Dubric of Lan Gwyn*. See *Cambr. Regist.* Vol. I. p. 242.

direction of Cadvan, the Armorican; and afterwards of David: and it contained the greatest number of saints, that is, monks, of any place of the kind. As we have no notice in any of the Welsh historians, of *Severus*, who came over with Garmon on his second visit; it is worth considering whether *Cadvan* and *Severus* were not the same person, under different names.

Beino, or *Bayno*, the son of *Huwgi*, was the founder of Clynòg college, in Carnarvonshire: and this was esteemed a place of great note as a school of learning.

Seiriol, the son of Owen Danwyn, the son of Einion Yrth, son of Prince Cynetha, was the founder of the college of Penmon, on the spot where the parish church of that name now stands; and which was greatly venerated in the time of the Welsh princes of the middle ages.

Cybi, or *Cebius*, son of Solomon, duke of Cornwall, retired to a place near the western point of Anglesea, where he lived in devout retirement. Hence that head was called Pen-Caer-Gybi, or rather Pen-Câr-Gybi, and Holy-head.

These were later than the age of Garmon and Lupus.

The famous monastery of BANGOR MAELOR, on the river Dee, was founded about the middle of the sixth century, by Dunod, or Dinath, the son of prince Pabo, called the Pillar of Britain. This is said, in "The Genealogy of the Saints," to have been the most celebrated of all the Bangors, before it was broken up in consequence of the battle of Bangor, fought between Prince Brochwel and the Saxon King Ethelbert. *Cyn-gen*, or Conganus, the son of Cadel, prince of Powys, endowed this institution. Here are said to have been twenty-four hundred religious persons.

There was a religious house at *Llan Genydd*, in

Gower, founded by Genidius, or Cenith, son of the historian Gildas.

There was also one upon the river Elwy, in North Wales, which went after the name of Asaf, its founder.

Bangor, in Carnarvonshire, was founded by Maelgwyn, or Maglocunus, prince of North Wales.

During the period that Garmon and Dubricius, with their disciples, were reforming the British church, Brychan, or Brachanus, prince of Garthmadrin, was an eminent character. He was son of *Aulach*, or *Anllech*, who was son of *Cormac Mac Carbery*, one of the supreme kings of Ireland. He became lord of Garthmadrin, which from him was called Brycheiniog, or Brecknock; to which he succeeded in right of his mother Marchell, daughter of Tudyr, who was married to Aulach about A. D. 382. Brychan was as famous as Priam, for his numerous progeny; for by his three wives he is said to have had forty-nine children and grand children,* the names of which are given us in old Welsh writers! Brychan's family are stiled, in the Triads, one of the three holy families, along with those of the celebrated Brân and Cunedda. Brychan, in particular, received the appellation, because he brought up his children and grandchildren in religious learning, so as to be able to instruct, in the Christian Faith, those of the Cymry, who were destitute thereof. Brychan died about 450.

The first disciples of Dubricius, in his congregation upon the Wye, were some of the children and grandchildren of Brychan.

Learning was evidently a rare acquirement in those days, when the children of princes esteemed it so great

* He is said to have had so many children; but it is not improbable that some of them, at least, were his grandchildren.

an ornament: and it shews the docility of many great men in that age, that they were induced to take so decided a part in supporting the interests of Christianity. As we are given to understand from what is here stated, that many of the native Britons were still in a state of Paganism, we may conclude that it was the same, in a great measure, in other parts of the island. The Christian religion not being introduced into Ireland, when Prince Brychan came over to Britain, he might have been a profligate character in his youth, and was perhaps converted in his old age by Dubricius.

Some of the children of Brychan are said to have died martyrs in the Christian cause; but whether they were so in the most strict sense, or only deemed such, because they fell a sacrifice to the rage of their Pagan enemies, the Saxons, may admit some doubt.

It is obvious that vows of celibacy were not very common among the British Saints of this age, as we read of so many who embraced a religious life, and afterwards entered into the matrimonial state. The institutions we have been speaking of were at first no more than congregations for the celebration of sacred ordinances, and where the pious might assemble in quietness to join in religious exercises. Schools of learning were annexed, in which many were educated for the ministry, or to qualify them to act as itinerant missionaries, like the children of Brychan, to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity in the dark corners of the land.

Tudvyl, one of the daughters of *Brychan*, was married to *Cyngen*, the son of *Cadell*, a prince of North Wales, by whom Bangor Maelor was endowed. That lady was slain in Glamorgan, at a place which, from that circumstance, received the name of *Merthyr Tudvyl*. She came to visit her father when he was become an old man, attended by some of her brothers; whereupon

they were beset by a party of Pagan Saxons and Gwyddelian Fichti, and she, her father, and her brother, Dremrudd, were murdered. But Nevydd, the son of Rhun, then a youth, exerted himself in raising the country; and he put the enemy to flight. Such is the account given in "The Genealogy of the Saints;" the very title of which evinces it not to be the production of Popery.

In adverting to the learning of the British Christians, there is a subject, with respect to which it would yield a pleasing gratification to pious and literary characters to obtain some information: had our ancestors any translation of the Sacred Writings in their own vernacular tongue? The conclusion of our enquiries here turn out unfavourable to our wishes. While the Romans occupied Britain, the Latin tongue was used not only in public transactions, but was the language of conversation in the towns, and most frequently used in the churches. There were but few pastors, probably, in the remote and mountainous districts; and the gospel, it is to be feared, was not generally preached to the poor. Hence, the departure of the Romans proved a great and deplorable loss to the interests of piety and learning in the towns, while many parts of the country were in a state of barbarism. There were but few nations who had the Scriptures translated into their own vernacular language. The clergy either understood the language of Rome, if not also that of Greece, or acquired it in order to be able to interpret portions of Scripture in the churches, to the people. There were lessons from both the Old and New Testament read; but these were most probably in the Latin tongue, as it was in the Gallican churches. "The morning service of the Gallican churches," says Stillingfleet, "consisted chiefly in lessons, hymns, and psalms, of St. Jerom's translation, with

Gloria Patri at the end of every Psalm; the Latin tongue being yet the common language of the Roman provinces.*

The knowledge of letters was then a rare acquirement, except among a few designed for offices in the church or state. The priests' lips kept knowledge. It was reserved for happier times, when the art of printing and the Reformation threw the gates of knowledge open to mankind, to put the community in possession of copies of the Sacred Volume. When Britain entirely ceased to be a part of the Roman empire, and the natives were deprived of their territories, except the western parts of the kingdom, it would be requisite to translate the liturgy and the lessons, as we might be inclined to think, into the dialect of the country. We want that information on which to ground our belief, that the Cambro-Britains were so far favoured; and Bede seems to intimate, that the Latin was the sacred language for the four nations of Britain, the Britons, the Anglo-Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots. Of the Latin tongue, he says, *Quæ meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis*, which implies that that was the language used in the church, and in the public reading of the Scriptures. The neglect of giving the barbarous nations the Sacred Volume in the vulgar dialect of each country, brought on a long and dark night of error.

* Origines Britannicæ, p. 223.

CHAPTER VIII.

The distressed state of Britain from the commencement to the middle of the fifth century.

AFTER the barbarians from the north of Europe became so emboldened as to attack the capital of the empire, their ambition, joined with their love of plunder, was excited to that degree, that Italy, and all the finest provinces, became exposed to their ravages. We have noticed the distresses of the Romanized Britains, owing to the incursions of their rude and uncultivated neighbours from Caledonia; that is, the unsubdued natives beyond the Forth and the Clyde. Our accounts respecting the transactions of that age are very obscure, having to depend on the dim light held forth in the fragment of Gildas. The mode of warfare practised among the barbarians terrified the cultivated and pacific Britons, when they were no longer shielded by the Roman legionaries.

The third terrible devastation mentioned by Gildas, is supposed to be that which induced the Britons to require the aid of the Saxons against the Scots and Picts. This continued to an alarming extent for some years, previous to the fatal determination of some of the British chiefs to call in the help of those foreigners, who shortly became their masters.

The independence of the Britons not being acquired by the exercise of valour and the love of freedom, but being merely owing to their being abandoned by the

Romans, in consequence of the convulsed state of their affairs at home ; could not prove to them, under existing circumstances, any great cause for exultation. The principal offices, both of the civil and military department, being hitherto generally filled by Romans, there was a want of civil magistrates as well as soldiers ; and we may conceive the country to be in a state of disorder and confusion. Had the wise regulations of the Romans been adhered to, and places of trust and honour filled by the most worthy of the natives, many calamities would have been prevented ; while the Britons would have enjoyed all the benefits of Roman polity, combined with the gratification of being freed from a foreign yoke. But now it appears to have been quite the reverse of what a proper sense of the general good might have dictated ; for if there were among our ancestors at this time men of enlarged views, and capable of directing the public affairs, their councils were little regarded. There does not appear to have been either a head to govern, or a people that would bear control. The principal men were too selfish to unite in schemes of public utility, and the people had no confidence in their superiors. They wanted an efficient government, invested with that authority, which alone could oblige them to co-operate, in whatever measures the safety of the commonwealth demanded. They were destitute of artists, and even of materials, for the fabric of weapons to annoy the foe ; the townsmen were grown effeminate ; and the rustics, so accustomed to range over their forests, heaths, and mountains, when cooped up in forts and castles, drooped and languished like captives in confinement, and seemed to lose all sense of glory, and all spirit of opposition.*

* See the Introduction to Smollett's *History of England*, p. 117.

The above considerations will enable us to account for the distress of the Britons of the south, when attacked by their Caledonian neighbours, who could never brook their being driven over the Clyde and Forth by Theodosius. An occurrence which fell out about the year 320, strengthened the hands of the enemy, and induced them to take advantage of the state of South Britain, to attempt a settlement in a country more fertile than their own. This was the coming over of Fergus, the son of Erc, from Ireland, with a train of followers, to take possession of the territory of the Deucaledones and the Creones; he being the rightful heir to the throne of that country, upon the demise of the last of the race of Fingal. *Ossian* was now fallen asleep, having long survived his father Fingal, with "all his race of battle;" and the monarch of Ireland was entitled to place one of his family on the vacant throne. Fergus was accordingly sent with a body of troops, and the authority of a sovereign. As such he was received by the natives, and settled his Scots in the country, which in process of time bore their name, and which became, in consequence, unknown in Ireland. In the incursions of the Picts into the south, they now derived additional strength; and, thus recruited, they frequently harassed the inhabitants. In 340, the Picts in general, and the Scots confederated with them, harassed *Valentia* with perpetual inroads.* And thus they continued, says Whitaker, to act regularly afterwards, jointly crossing the Clyde in their curroghs, jointly over-running *Valentia*, and penetrating into *Maxima* (now the north of England), and beginning the great æra of calamities which subsequently afflicted Roman Britain.

It was this formidable approach of the Caledonians,

* See Whitaker's *Manchester*, B. I. c. 12. s. 4.

which Gildas has described, or rather caricatured, in tints of the deepest horror. The Barbarians attacked the timid and cowardly soldiers, stationed to guard the great wall, whom they thrust through with their long pikes, or hauled down with iron hooks,* and dashed them against the ground. Having slaughtered the guards, they soon broke over the wall, like wolves into a sheep-fold, and spread terror and devastation at every step of their progress. A message was sent to Cælius, the general of Valentinian, whom Gildas styles Cægitius : “ To Agitius, thrice consul, THE GROANS OF THE BRITONS ; the barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us back to the barbarians. Between these two kinds of death, we are exposed either to be slain by the enemy, or drowned ; and in this calamity we are destitute of all help.” To increase their misfortunes, the Britons were visited with famine, which was becoming more and more dreadful. The Romans could afford them no relief ; the enemy were beginning to fix their seats among them ; and many yielded themselves up to be their slaves, to lengthen out a miserable existence, while others fled to the mountains and forests,† Some, however, of the Britons mustered courage to oppose the barbarians ; and they were joined by others, who boldly and valiantly defended their country, and compelled their enemies to retire ; which they were in all probability more easily induced to even of themselves, on account of the famine. The Irish depredators who had landed on the coasts returned home, and the Picts retreated with their booty for the present.

Divine Providence once more smiled on the miserable

* In the late rebellion, the native Irish made use of an enormous pike, which was not only adapted to cut and thrust, but had a hook for the purpose of catching and cutting the bridles of the cavalry.

† Gildas, s. 17.

Britons, by bestowing on them plenty and abundance. This prosperous season, instead of being spent in thanksgiving to heaven, and prudent measures of defence against the recurrence of the calamity, from which they had received a respite, was abused by the most indecent excesses; the dissipated people giving themselves up to the indulgences of intemperance and luxury. All manner of vice and profligacy abounded; and the clergy themselves, instead of being examples to the flock; were many of them equally corrupt. They who were so timid, and dared not nobly to withstand the common enemy, were forward and valiant enough to raise their arms against each other. Their mutual jealousies and civil discords, their entire want of regard to the obligations of justice, and the bonds of truth and honour; are deplored by our old Briton: "They anointed kings, not according to the will of God, but such as were more fierce and cruel than others; and not long after, without examination, put them down, and set up those that were still worse. If any one were more gentle, and a lover of truth, he was the most hated and maligned, and called a betrayer of his country." He complains that there was a universal degeneracy of manners among all classes; and those who should have set good examples before others, were as bad as them. Such was the miserable state of the Britons; and the measure of their iniquity being now full, they were given up to their own blindness; which led them to invite the Saxons over to their assistance against the barbarous nations of the north, although they had hitherto regarded that people among their fiercest enemies. We have now to attend to the circumstances, which preceded the invitation given to the Saxons as auxiliaries, to come and defend the cause of the inhabitants of South Britain, against

an enemy become too powerful for an indolent and a disunited people.

The plenty and abundance afforded to the British people, was abused to the purposes of luxury and intemperance. Whether, as the effect of their vices, or from some inscrutable cause, they were visited with a most destructive pestilence: so that, to use the words of Gildas, the living were hardly able to bury the dead. In this deplorable condition, the rumour spread far and wide that their old enemies were preparing to invade the land, and to exterminate the inhabitants. The northern tribes had now signified their determination to obtain settlements in the more fertile regions of the south. In this emergency, the chiefs or nobles were convened to deliberate on the best measures requisite to be adopted for the public safety. Upon that memorable occasion, it is thought, they had recourse to the mode adopted by their ancestors, to delegate the public authority to one, who was to govern the kingdom, and head their armies. The person who was declared proper for so high and honourable a station was a prince, whom the Saxon annals call *VORTIGERN*, and the old British writers *GWRTHEYRN*, a Silurian chieftain, whose inheritance comprehended the territories of Er-ging and Ewias, on the banks of the Wye.

Vortigern soon proposed, or some of his counsellors advised that, in order to repel the ravages of the Picts and Scots, an alliance should be formed with the Saxons, known to be a brave people, and fit to assist them in the present exigency. The proposal was acceded to; and the consequence of it we shall consider in the ensuing chapter. Previous to that I shall offer some remarks on the chronology of the period which elapsed from the death of Maximus to the election of Vortigern.

Gildas has not attempted to assign any dates after the time of Maximus; he does not even notice the rise and fall of Constantine. Bede has supplied that deficiency: but a respected modern historian deems the chronology of Bede extremely erroneous. I shall mention here the dates assigned by various authors.

The first terrible devastation of the barbarous tribes, according to Gildas, was in consequence of the withdrawing of the forces to the continent, by Maximus. But Bede wrongly applies it to Constantine's usurpation: The second irruption of the barbarians does not appear to have been far distant from the first, as seems to be implied in the language of both Gildas and Bede. According to the latter, the third *vastatio*, or irruption, fell out A. D. 431.

According to Archbishop Usher, the first great irruption of the Picts and Scots, was A. D. 393. The second was A. D. 396; the third A. D. 431.

According to Camden, the dates are; the first under the reign of Honorius and Arcadius, and the administration of Stilicho; the second; sometime between A. D. 411 and 420: The third he considers to have happened after the space of sixteen years, or about A. D. 431.

According to Richard of Cirencester, the first irruption was A. M. 4396; the second, A. M. 4400; the third, A. M. 4446. The last date is represented to correspond with the twenty-third year of Theodosius, the younger; the three dates must, therefore, correspond with A. D. 393, 396, and 443; the two first of which accord with Usher:

Bishop Stillingfleet makes the first supplies to have been sent sometime between the death of Maximus, and the year 407; the second in the year 425; and the third in the year 443.

According to Mr. Turner, the first supplies under,

Stilicho arrived A. D. 399, supposing the irruption of the barbarians to commence A. D. 388. The Roman legion he supposes to have departed A. D. 402. to assist against the Huns, in the battle of Pollentia; and it returned to quell the second great irruption in 405. The third irruption, according to the same author, was in 410.

It is not improbable that Gildas took his account of the three great devastations from traditions preserved in the form of Triads; and, therefore, he mentions three precisely; two of them falling out before the year 410, when the Romans abandoned Britain: but after that period, to the age of Vortigern, the provincial Britons were frequently harassed by the Highlanders falling upon the borders, and pushing forwards towards the south; one while for the sake of plunder, and another for the sake of conquest. The Hibernian Scots, crossing the channel, which Gildas calls *Vallis Scythica*, frequently infested the isle of Anglesea, and the shores of Arvon and Meirion; and at one time they formed settlements there, until expelled by the sons of Cunedda, who, having lost their own territory in the North, obtained fresh settlements by driving out the Gwydhelians, or Irish. But when a large colony of Scots settled on the north-western coast, and with the Caledonians, or Picts, combined their forces, and fell upon the country to the south of the Clyde, they poured in like an overwhelming torrent, not merely for the sake of plunder, and after obtaining that to retire to their native mountains, but with a purpose of settling in a more fertile clime, as well as to be revenged of the Britons of the south, whom they hated for their ancient connexion with the Romans, and for their religion.

That the Britons were not altogether so pusillanimous as we might infer from the dolorous account of Gildas,

is a conclusion grounded upon the national character in all ages. But that a civilized people should be startled at the approach of so fierce an enemy is not surprising, when we know that our more immediate ancestors of the last century were so terrified at the thought of the *claymore*, or broad-sword of the Scottish Highlanders. In some districts the people retained a portion of their ancient spirit: but in the towns and cities their habits were now rendered pacific; and they were disqualified for combating a ferocious enemy inured to hardship, and trained to slaughter.

If we can admit the position that the South-Britons, after the Roman force was withdrawn, prided themselves on their independence, instead of lamenting the departure of the Romans, as their protectors; then we can also believe that their energies were roused, and they were rendered capable of defending themselves against the Northern hordes: but I can see but very slight evidence of this being the case. It is true, after the Emperor Honorius withdrew the legionary force, the veterans remained some years after, and no doubt valiantly assisted the natives to repel the incursions of the barbarous tribes with some success. But when the veterans and principal Roman-British took their departure from the island, it would seem that the spirits of the Britons sunk at the thought of the ferocious habits of the Picts and Scots, and the Saxon pirates. As men that still clinged to the Romans for security, they therefore implored their succour, and appealed to the ancient connexion that subsisted between Rome and Britain.

Mr. Turner, although he professes his opinion that Britain never became subject to Rome after the year 410, yet seems to admit that application might have been made to the Romans for assistance from some particular districts: and we may indeed conceive that all the coun-

try was not of the same sentiment, with respect to dependence on Roman authority, and having recourse to Roman aid. Mr. Turner observes, "We can conceive that when the strength of the country was not directed to its protection, but was wasted in civil conflicts, the hostilities of the Picts and Scots may have met with some success; not opposed by the force of the whole island, but by the local power of the particular *civitas*, or district invaded, they may have defeated the opposition, and desolated the land of the northern borders. With equal success, from the same cause, the western regions of Britain may have been plundered by the Scots; and the southern, by the Saxons. Some of the maritime states, abandoned by their more powerful countrymen, may have sought the aid of *Etius*, as they afterwards accepted that of the Saxons: but we think the account of Gildas applicable only to particular districts, and not to the whole island."

But, without taking upon me to decide on any difference of opinion subsisting between our historians, on the history of this dark period, I shall only say that the account of Gildas, as it respects the state of Britain, may be considered, in the main, as a true statement, although strongly shaded with horror. As to the exact time that coincides with the three great devastations, described by him, it is not so material to determine questions that respect them. This we know, that the first refers evidently to the time of the usurpation of Maximus; and the last, with the application to *Etius*, could not be long before the invitation given to the Saxons. During the fifth century the Britons were at various periods greatly distressed by the depredations and ravages of their rude and savage neighbours, until reduced to the greatest extremity, which drove them to rash and precipitate counsels for a present relief.

Upon the whole it appears, that the dates assigned by Camden to the two first grand irruptions of the Picts and Scots, will be found as tenable as any; the first, applying to the time of Maximus, or rather the period which immediately followed; the second, occasioned by the secession of the Romans, in consequence of the trouble of Italy, and the sacking of Rome, A.D. 410: but the last irruption was, in all probability, agreeably to Richard of Cirencester and Dr. Stillingfleet, about the year 443.

The first supplies, under Stilicho, were sent about A.D. 396, or 399; the second supplies, A. D. 414, or 416; the third, A. D. 443.

We have now to contemplate new scenes and new transactions, in consequence of the arrival of the Saxons and Angles; first, as auxiliaries to the Britons, then as their enemies, and finally as their masters; until they established their dominion over the most important, as well as largest portion, of Britain; imposing their own language and laws on the inhabitants. All this fulfilled the purposes of Divine Providence, who sees the final results of all things: the land was first to undergo a severe scourge, from internal conflicts and the dreadful concomitants of war, until the end, the general happiness, should be effected thereby, in the fulness of time.

§ 2. *The arrival of the Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa; they resolve to settle in the country; their treachery; the battles fought between the Britons and Saxons; Ambrosius and Arthur, Ella, Cerdic and Kindric.*

THE Picts and Scots were advancing rapidly, and carrying devastation wherever they went; while Vortigern was clamorous for foreign aid. But that prince wished a kind of force, at his command, that would enable him not only to propel the common enemy, but over-awe those princes who were hostile to his claims. There was an illustrious man of the name of Aurelius Ambrosius, brother to Uthyr, and son of Constantine, of Armorica, whom many wished to raise to the supreme command. This nobleman, full of youthful ardour, was viewed with a jealous eye by Vortigern.

At this juncture, three Saxon *cyules*, or small ships, arrived off the coast: enquiry was made, "What was their object; whence they came; what their tribes and their country?" Their leaders, Hengist and Horsa, made reply, that they had been exiled from their native shores: that, in obedience to a domestic law, which enacted that, in a superfluity of population, the youths should decide, by lot, who should emigrate, they had become the necessary exiles.

Whether the council of Vortigern is to be considered as preceding this event, or whether it was in consequence thereof that he proposed accepting of the aid of these foreigners; be that as it will, their admission into the kingdom was approved of, and the Isle of Thanet was the place assigned them. It was agreed upon that they were to fight the enemies of the Britons, to receive the

necessary supplies, and their valour was to be rewarded by assigning them a territory for their future residence. It is hardly to be supposed that the nation in general accorded with this measure; it may more rationally be considered as originating with Vortigern, and a few chiefs with whom his influence preponderated; and it may be questioned whether he did not rather assume the honour he had been long aspiring to, than receive it from the hands of the princes, and the states of the island. Having gained himself a strong party, he profited by the feuds and jealousies of those who were unfriendly to his claim.

In the Triads, Vortigern is called *Gwrthenau*, or The Gainsayer, because of the detested advice which he gave to invite the Saxons over; and his afterwards assigning them the Isle of Thanet for a residence. On that account he, along with *Avarwy*, who befriended Julius Cæsar, and the Romans; and *Medrod*, who proved treacherous to his uncle Arthur, and was the cause of his ruin, are considered as names consigned to perpetual execration, as the betrayers of their country.

This wicked prince was for compassing the ends of his ambition, whatever might be the consequence; of which the chiefs, who coincided with him, were not aware. The Saxons were soon to become a more terrible scourge to the Britons than ever the Picts and the Scots had been; an enemy whom they were fully competent to repel, had they been at unity with themselves.

But the blindness of man hastens the accomplishment of heaven's designs; and his own folly becomes the means of his own punishment. The enervated, the wicked, the contentious Britons, had filled up the measure of their iniquity; they were a people unworthy to exercise that dominion which they had newly received, by being made independent of Rome. The

Anglo-Saxons,* also, in their turn were doomed to feel the fury of the Danes, and to resign the sceptre to the Normans.

Hengist obtained leave to send for a larger supply of his countrymen, in order that they might effectually suppress the Picts. When these additional troops arrived, the Britons and their new allies proceeded to meet the enemy, over whom they proved victorious. The British monarch, highly pleased with this success, in a season of festivity and rejoicing, was ensnared into those measures, which sealed the ruin of his country. Hengist, perceiving the ascendancy he was gaining, conceived the ambitious project of obtaining a handsome settlement in the country. The beauty of his daughter Rowena, captivated the heart of the aged monarch; she was not denied to his criminal request. The Saxon then became bold in his demands; and, perceiving the dissensions that so fatally prevailed among the native princes, he presumed upon the thought of turning the Saxon arms against the Britons, in order to make a conquest of the country. In order to this, he secretly sent over for fresh reinforcements; he set the king at variance with his nobles; and was become so insolent in his demands, as to render himself insupportable to the Britons. Being confident of their own strength, which they knew how to augment at pleasure, the Saxons soon made it appear what their ambition aimed at. They entered

* There are three nations to be here distinguished under a general appellation; the *Saxons*, strictly so called, the *Angli*, and the *Jutes*. The country of the last-named is still called *Jutland*. The Angli came from the south of *Jutland*, or *Angelen*; and the Saxons from the country between the Elbe and the Eyder, comprehending *Holstein*, *Ditmarsen*, and *Stormar*. These were the people who transported themselves from the Cimbric Peninsula, and its vicinity, to Britain, in the fifth and sixth centuries. See *Bede*, *Cædmon*, *Usher*, &c.

into a secret compact with the Picts, and received also supplies from Germany, and thought themselves now competent to fulfil their ambitious project; for, not being content with the territory assigned them, they aspired to greater things. These things, along with the perfidiousness of Vortigern, gave the British nobles to perceive the public danger.

But although the Saxons could no less than perceive the dissatisfaction of the Britons, on account of the monarch's partiality for his foreign auxiliaries, they still appeared to depend on the support of that infatuated prince.

The chieftains, however, instead of boldly insisting on the departure of the Saxons, smothered their resentment, until further augmentations were incessantly pouring in, and Hengist clamoured for fresh supplies, in proportion to the increase of his adherents. Seventeen *cyules*, or long boats, laden with soldiers, came to the aid of the Saxons, in Kent; besides forty who went to the north of the island under Octa and Abisa.

All this, it is said, met with the sanction of Vortigern, who was easily wrought upon by the specious insinuations of Hengist.

The British nobles at length remonstrated strongly with the king on the danger to which he was exposing the country, by admitting these foreigners in such vast numbers to reside in the land; for that soon they would be able to overpower the inhabitants. Vortigern paid little attention to these complaints; and, being aware of the disaffection of the nobles, he continued to support the Saxons, regarding them as a powerful guard against the discontents of his subjects, or the attempts of a rival. His infatuated connexion with Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, strengthened the Saxon interest; while, at the same time, it served to render him completely odious to

his subjects. It was now, therefore, resolved upon by the Britons to depose Vortigern, and to invest his son Vortimer with the administration of the kingdom.

This the Saxons could not fail to consider as a rupture between the two nations. The British chiefs, now roused to fury, with Vortimer at their head, prepared for war with the Saxons, who had already commenced hostilities. In the mean time, the clergy, seeing Vortigern's dissolute and incorrigible life, as well as being moved with his treachery to his country, solemnly excommunicated him, in a public synod convened for that purpose.

The first engagement between the Britons and the Saxons is said to have been fought at Darwent, in the sixth year after the coming over of Hengist and Horsa. The second was fought at Ailsford, according to the British chronicle; but the Saxon writers make this to be the first. Horsa, the brother of Hengist, and Cattigern, the son of Vortigern, fell in this action by mutual wounds. The chronicle gives the name of Episford to the place where this battle was fought; but that can be considered only as another name for Ailsford.

Two other battles soon ensued, in consequence of which the Saxons sustained a severe defeat, and were compelled to take refuge in the Isle of Thanet, from whence they embarked for Germany.

That the Saxons at this time sustained an overwhelming defeat, appears from the circumstance, that Hengist ventured not to land on the shores of Britain until after the expiration of five years. About that time, Vortigern resuming the government (Vortimer having been poisoned by his step-mother Rowena), either gave an invitation to Hengist to come over once more to Britain; or that chieftain considered it a favourable juncture for his purpose.

Hengist landed with a powerful force under his command; but having had proofs of the valour of the Britons, and knowing how formidable they might prove, had recourse to an infernal stroke of policy. He pretended, in a message dispatched to the king, that his return was connected with no hostile design; that, being ignorant of the death of Vortimer, his intention was to come to the aid of his father-in-law, and to establish him on the throne; and that, seeing he was once more raised to that dignity, he was entirely at his disposal, and would retain or dismiss any number of his forces, according to his desire.

The weak and perfidious monarch admitted of the specious plea; and, moreover, consented to the proposal, that a national congress of the chiefs of the island should be convened, in order to concert the terms upon which a treaty of amity and alliance should be formed between the two nations. The Britons, on the first of May, were accustomed to hold a grand festival, in a place suitable for a general assemblage. Such a situation they had on Salisbury plain, where the performance of certain sacred rites was celebrated, in conjunction with every kind of festivity.*

The British chiefs, trusting to the sacredness of the occasion, and the honour of treaties, came unarmed; while the Saxon had enjoined his adherents to conceal their weapons; that, at a signal to be given in the season of joy and festivity, every man should act his part with cool and undaunted resolution. At an hour when the Britons were lost to every thought but that of pleasure, in the midst of the Mead-horns, Hengist exclaimed, in the language of their country, *Draw your daggers.*

* The situation was a grand heathen temple, and a place of national convention, which latter purpose it still served.

A dreadful carnage ensued, in which four hundred and sixty British chieftains are stated to have fallen at the feet of the perfidious Saxons. One nobleman, Eidol, the earl of Gloucester, is said to have performed feats of the most heroic valour; he slew no less than seventy Saxons with a truncheon!

The Saxons, according to the British history, now insisted on their own terms; and four of the principal towns were delivered into their hands, the king being speciously detained as a prisoner, as if reluctant to comply with their demands.

In the mean time Ambrosius, called by the Welsh Emrys Wledig, the rival of Vortigern, being supported by the chiefs of Cornwall, and the Armoric Britons, was preparing to put in his claim to the supreme command, as pendragon, or stadtholder of the Britons. Among other persons of consideration, the clergy gave their support to this young chieftain, who met now with no opposition, Vortigern being generally abhorred by all ranks.

As to the treacherous convention between the Saxons and the Britons on Salisbury plain, it would be well could it be blotted out of the page of history; but the mournful strains of Golyddan, a Bard of that age, as well as the faithful tradition handed down from age to age, render it a place in the black catalogue of crimes recorded in ancient history. At the end of the following chapter, the reader will find an extract from the Arymes Prydain, a celebrated poem of Golyddan, who was a northern Bard.

The perfidious Vortigern, now completely detested, fled to his own hereditary dominions among the Silurians; and shut himself up in a place called Gronow castle, in Herefordshire, on the banks of the Wye. This last retreat of the monarch was set on fire; and he

was consumed in the flames, at the instigation, it is said, of Ambrosius, his rival ; whom the Britons preferred to the command of the army, and the government of the country.

It is rather uncertain at what time *Emrys*, or *Ambrosius*, was elected sovereign, or pendragon, of the Britons. Mr. Owen gives the date of A.D. 481, but it must have been considerably earlier.

The battle of Wyppet's Fleot, in Kent, was fought in the year 465 ; twelve British chieftains of distinction, with several thousands of inferior warriors, fell in that conflict.

"The name of Hengist," says Mr. Turner, "has been surrounded with terror, and his steps with victory : from Kent he is affirmed to have carried devastation into the remotest corner of the island ; to have spared neither age, sex, nor condition ; to have slaughtered the priests on the altar ; to have butchered in heaps the people who fled to the mountains and deserts." In contradiction to all this, our author ventures to affirm, that all the battles of Hengist were either fought in Kent, or at no great distance from that territory, which he acquired for himself, and left to his posterity.* That what Gildas relates as the general consequences of all the Saxon invasions, ought not to be applied too hastily to the first successes of Hengist, is a just observation. I would add, that our British ancestors were not so unwarlike as to be driven before a few foreigners, like a herd of cattle, and without resistance, to be at their mercy : on the contrary, they fought well, and valiantly for their liberty and independence for more than a cen-

* The general account of Vortigern, as well as Hengist, appears to be greatly exaggerated. His authority most probably did not extend further than over the Cambro-Britons ; and several transactions ascribed to him ought to be attributed rather to some Kentish prince.

tury; and some of them still continued the invincible Britons.

After the battle of Wippet's Fleet, in which the Saxon writers ascribe the victory to the enemy, the Britons having given such proofs of their valour, were not annoyed for some time; the Saxons confining themselves, we are told, to the territory they had acquired in Kent.

When Hengist and his son Esca found themselves competent to renew their attacks upon the Britons, they carried havoc and desolation into the neighbouring territories, until the inhabitants flew to arms, and checked their ravages.

Ambrosius, in order to restrain the Saxons of Northumberland, and to prevent their forming a junction with their brethren of Kent, projected an alliance with the Scots, independently of the Picts, who were the staunch friends and confederates of the Saxons. "These two nations, (to use the words of a respectable historian,) had already begun to be infected with mutual jealousy and distrust; and many disputes had happened between them about the division of the lands and plunder which they had ravished from the Britons; so that their friendship was in the wane, when Ambrosius made his proposals to the Scots, who found them too advantageous to be rejected.* He ceded to them the lands between the friths (rather between the walls); and they engaged to harass the northern Saxons with incessant irruptions. They performed their part of the contract with incredible alacrity and perseverance, because they found their account in pillaging a rich industrious people by surprise; and this alliance with Ambrosius, but especially the cession of the regnum Cumbrense, was productive of a long and

* In a celebrated poem, called *Arymes Prydain*, written, it is supposed, by Golyddan, evident reference is made to those Hibernian Scots fighting with the Cymry.

bloody war between the Scots and Picts, which ended in the extirpation of the latter, and even in the extinction of the name; while the Britons underwent the same fate from their Saxon conquerors.”*

In about three years after the last incursions of the Saxons, under Hengist and Esca, Emrys and the Britons had a new set of enemies to oppose: for the spirit of emigration had now seized the German tribes. These looked to Britain as the proper field for the exercise of their valour, where they expected to obtain territories like their countrymen, who had already settled themselves there.

It was about A. D. 477, that Ella, and his three sons, landed in Sussex; who, notwithstanding the stoutest opposition of the natives, succeeded in obtaining seats in Sussex and Hampshire; driving the Britons into the forest of Anderida, where there was a city strongly fortified, called by the Saxons Andrecester. In the eighth year after the arrival of Ella, that place was taken; and the Britons, who had bravely defended it, were all put to the sword. The maxim of these heathens, in the present instance, was that of utter extermination; as if they were determined to make entire slaughter of the Britons wherever they went. But policy, if not humanity, would, in general, teach them a better lesson.

Ella was now rising into great note among the Saxon chiefs; and his name carried terror with it. Hengist fell in an engagement in Yorkshire, where he was gone to join the Angles of that quarter.† His son, Octa, fled, and was taken prisoner, and spared, says the British

* See Smollett's History of England, Vol. I. p. 130.

† The British History states, that he was taken prisoner in the midst of the fight; and doomed to death by the sentence of the British chiefs and clergy.

history, by the clemency of Ambrosius; as the Saxon chieftain threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror.

Ambrosius, who is represented as possessing great zeal for the honour of the Christian religion; employed the season of tranquillity he now enjoyed, in restoring the churches which had been destroyed; and performing many excellent things for the support of the clergy, and the advancement of religion. He died some time towards the conclusion of the century, after the landing of Kerdic, and his son Kenric.

In the year 495, eighteen years after the landing of Ella, Kenric came with five ships; and although his force was, therefore, at first, but small, the impression he made was very powerful, notwithstanding the bravery with which he was opposed for the space of five and twenty years: he at length met with that overwhelming stroke at the battle of Badon Mount.

While Kerdic and his son were extending their conquests, and profiting, no doubt, by the want of union among the native chiefs, who seldom came forward to oppose the common foe, unless their own territories were assaulted; a band of Saxon auxiliaries came over from the continent, under the conduct of Porta, and landed in Hampshire; at a place which, from that circumstance, was called Portsmouth: but others affirm his first descent to have been at Portland, or Portesham, near Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire; where he sustained a vigorous attack from the natives, before he could obtain a footing in the country.

Ambrosius being dead, the Britons of the western coast elevated *Uthyr* to the supreme command; and hence he took the name of Pen-dragon, or commander-in-chief; and was nominally, as well as Vortigern and Ambrosius, king of Britain; the regal dignity having been conferred successively on some one of the Silurian,

or Damnonian chiefs, during the past age. The name of *Uthyr* implies wonderful, and was an appellation adopted with the design of exciting a spirit of ardour and enthusiasm, for the emergency of the time: but the real name of this great hero, according to an ingenious antiquary, was, in all probability, Meirick ap Tewdric, prince of Glamorgan and Garthmadrin. According to some accounts, he was brother to Ambrosius; but, however that be, he appears to have fought under him, and thereby recommended himself as a man of bravery and military talents.

Kenric having erected his conquests into a kingdom, which went under the name of the kingdom of Wessex, and being now assisted by Porte, as well as Ella, king of Sussex, Esca, king of Kent, and all the Saxon colonies in Britain; the Britons had to contend with a most powerful confederacy. This combined force of the Saxons was met in the west of England by a British army, led by a chieftain, whom the Saxon annalists call *Natanleod*; who was either a prince of Devonshire, or Wiltshire; or perhaps no other than Llew ap Cynfarch, or as some called him *Lot*, or *Leod*, a prince from the North, who received in marriage Anna, the daughter of the Pendragon, the mother of the perfidious Modred, the betrayer of his renowned uncle, the great Arthur.

But, whoever was the British commander, the battle proved fatal to the Britons, who left five thousand men dead on the field; while the Saxons abroad were encouraged, by this signal defeat of British valour, to come over in numerous shoals to try their fortune in Britain.*

* This battle, according to Nennius, was fought during the sovereignty of Arthur; and if so, it must be what Llowarch celebrates as the battle of *Llong-borth*: and where Geraint, a Damnonian chieftain, fell. His elegy is one of the finest pieces of that Bard.

Although the Saxons met with various repulses from the bravery of *Uthyr*, their increasing numbers, which were continually pouring in upon the Britons, emboldened them to hope for ultimate success. The British history relates things so confusedly, and the Saxon historians are so partial, that they omit many things that would reflect disgrace upon the invaders, or be honourable to our British ancestors; so that it is difficult to find out the true history of this period.

Uthyr is said to have fought some battles in the North with great success, being aided by his Scotch auxiliaries against the Picts and Saxons. His name was terrible to his enemies; and by his valour, it is probable, that he prevented them enlarging their territories towards the centre of the island. That famous battle near Verolam may be supposed to have been attended with such an effect.

Uthyr Pendragon, dying from the effects of poison treacherously administered to him by one of his attendants, as we have it in the British History, was succeeded in the supreme command of the British army by his son, the renowned Arthur.

The Saxons had by this time obtained firm footing, and established themselves in various parts of Britain. The kingdoms of the South Saxons, of East Anglia, and Wessex, were formed previous to the year 520; about which time Arthur began his reign as prince of Siluria, and afterwards had the supreme command conferred upon him.

The Loegrian Britons had now, in general, submitted to the Saxons: and they were chiefly the natives of Cornwall, Wales, Cumberland, and Strath-Clyde, that now opposed the Anglo-Saxons.

According to William of Malmesbury, it is observed by Usher, Kerdic was established in the kingdom of the West Saxons, in the year 519: and Arthur was raised

to supreme power in the tenth year of Kerdic's reign. But as Kerdic must have actually reigned over Wessex, many years before the date of his permanent establishment, as given by the monk of Malmesbury, Arthur's elevation may be dated about A.D. 517; which is the date assigned by Powel, and followed by Owen.


CHAPTER IX.

The battles of Arthur ; his real character ; progress of the Saxons in the North. The final establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

TWELVE great battles are ascribed to Arthur, fought either in the north, or in the west of England. Of these battles, they may all have been real actions : but in all probability this prince was present at few only of them ; as Arthur had no real authority but in Cornwall and Wales ; although by his alliance with Modred, a prince of Cumberland, some transactions in the North are ascribed to him. He was engaged in many domestic contests ; but it is probable he never had any engagement of consequence with the Saxons, until he headed the British force at the battle of Badon Mount, near Bath.

This decisive battle was fought with Kenric, A. D. 520, according to Usher ; or 530, according to other accounts. The last will agree with that old chronology preserved in the *red book* of Hergest ; and given in the Cambrian Register. According to the statement there contained, 128 years expired from the age of Gwrtheyrn (or Vortigern) to the battle of Badon, in which Arthur and the British chiefs overcame the Saxons. Twenty-two years further expired from thence to the battle of Camlan, and the death of the British hero.

A little previous to this was fought the battle of *Llong-borth*, recorded by the muse of the venerable



Llowarch. A chieftain of Devonshire, called *Geraint ap Erbin*, fell in that contest; and his elegy is preserved among the remains of the Cumbrian Bard, who gives a poetic description of the battle in all the horrors that attend war and slaughter. Mr. Turner very plausibly conjectures that this was the unfortunate battle fought with Porta, on his first landing at the place, called still by his name, PORTSMOUTH. Another of Arthur's battles is mentioned by Llowarch; it was fought on the Llawen; and the Bard lost *Gwen*, his favourite son. The bravery of this youth is set forth in expressive and laconic terms by his father. "As he was my son, he did not recede."

Llywarch had been driven from his territory in the North; and he, with his sons, found a refuge in Powys; and valiantly continued to support the British cause.

In the battle of Bath, or Badon Mount, Arthur defeated the Saxons under Kenric. Previous to this Gildas, who dates his birth at this time, says, the Saxons and the native Britons alternately prevailed, but here the victory was decisive. In consequence of the success of Arthur in this engagement, the Silurian territories were preserved inviolate; and the natives left in possession of the country to the west of the Severn.

This famous battle is noticed by an ancient Bard:—

Gwaeth gyntlyn gynydion, pan bu gwaith Badon
Arthur ben haelion y llabneu bu gorhion
Gwonaeth ar alon gwaith gwyr gabynion
Gouynion gwaed dardd mach deyrn y gogledd.

Woe to them, the miserable ones, because of the action at Badon.
Arthur was at the head of the brave, when the blades were red
with blood:

He avenged on his enemies the blood of warriors;
Warriors who had been the defence of the kings of the North.

Arthur, according to the fictions of Geoffry of Monmouth, is said to have achieved the highest renown by his battles on the continent, and in Ireland, as well as in his native isle : and even as to his invincible prowess at home, it has been greatly exaggerated, so that his very existence has been called in question. Caerleon, being the seat of the Silurian princes, was Arthur's court : he had also a palace in Cornwall, probably at Lestwithiel, and another at Penryn, in Cumberland. All the princes of the Cymry acknowledged his authority, and willingly followed him for many years to battle ; but he was not invincible, he was unfortunate like other men, and had to retreat before Kerdic, his powerful antagonist, who, in spite of Arthur and the Britons, established himself in the kingdom of Wessex.

All the contests of Arthur were not fought with the Saxons, for he was engaged in domestic contests with native chieftains ; and his ambition procured him enemies, and his friends acted a treacherous part towards him. These circumstances led to the disastrous battle of Camlan, where this valiant prince fell, a prey to civil discord.

Modred, the nephew of Arthur, being the son of his sister Anna, married to a chieftain in the north, acted a base and unworthy part. This young prince seduced the queen, and eloped with her into Cumberland, where he fomented disturbances ; and, rather than submit himself to his uncle and his sovereign, he raised a civil war ; and thus the British princes, who ought to have had one common interest, spent their strength in domestic feuds. The consequence of this state of discord was the ruin of the native Britons, by the loss of the brave Arthur, who fell by the hands of the perfidious Modred.

There appears to be plausible reasons for disputing the scene of this action, which brought the life and reign

of Arthur to a termination. Camlan is supposed to have been in Cornwall; and this seems to be confirmed by the account handed down to us, of the interment of the prince in the isle of Avalon, or Glastonbury, where his corpse might easily have been conveyed by water. But as the territory of Modrød was in the north, the fatal battle most probably was fought on that side of the island; and it may have been at Kirby Lonsdale, agreeable to the opinion of Mr. Carte.* This, however, if admitted, entirely does away the magnificent tale of Arthur's interment among the holy martyrs and illustrious saints at Glastonbury.

As to the account of Arthur's interment at Glastonbury, it rests upon the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, a writer, it is true, too respectable to fabricate a tale, but easily induced to credit every thing of the marvellous. This celebrated character, who flourished in the reign of Henry II., affirms, that he was present at the abbey, when a leaden cross was taken up, with an inscription in rude, but legible characters, to this effect:

HIC JACET SEPULTUS
INCLYTUS REX ARTHURUS
IN INSULA AVALONIA.

But all this might have been managed by the monks to advance the credit and sanctity of the place; and by the desire of the king to do away the delusion of some of the Welsh, that Arthur was to re-appear on the stage of the world, and restore to them their long-lost sovereignty. It was perhaps to gratify the national vanity of a subjugated people, that Henry the eighth gave his eldest son the name of Arthur. It may be observed, that in the family of the duke of Beaufort (earl of Gla-

* See Carte's History of England; and Smollett.

morgan, lord of Ragland and Chepstow), this once royal name is still cherished: but what appears to an antiquary a striking coincidence between ancient and modern times is, the name of the first hero in Europe in the present age, the illustrious ARTHUR, Duke of Wellington.*

It has been very usual with some writers, to impute every fiction that they discover, connected with our ancient history, to the Welsh Bards; but such gentlemen may be informed, that *truth* has always been the motto of our Bards. It is certain, that in the fragments of the very ancient Bards we have a great deal of mythology; but that was never designed to pass for history. The fabulous narratives which found their way into our old chronicles are in prose, and were brought over from the continental Bretons. It is from thence we have those tales, which transport us into fairy regions, beyond the limits of all historical probability. These Armoric fictions of king Arthur and his famous Caliburno, Sir Launcelot, Sir Tristram, and all the rest of the knights of the Round Table, are not found in the simple fragments of our ancient poetry. The Arthur of Geoffry, and the object of veneration in the Druid mythology, have nothing to do with our Silurian hero, the son of Mouric; known more commonly under the name of Uthyr, the pendragon, or generalissimo. The reader who wishes to have the history of this great chieftain cleared up, should consult the Anglo-Saxon history of Mr. Turner.

“That there was a prince of this name,” says Mr. Owen, “or who had such an appellation given him, on

* The name of *Arthur* implies either a person of high renown, or one of undaunted fierceness; from the Welsh name (*Arth*) for a bear. Thus we have the *ursa major* and *minor* among the constellations. The Welsh call the constellation *Lyra* Telyn Arthur, or Arthur's lyre.

account of his great exploits, as Nennius represents, and who often led the Britons to battle against the Saxons in the sixth century, there ought not to be any doubt; for he is mentioned by Llowarch, Merddin, and Taliesin, poets who were his contemporaries; and he is also often recorded in the Triads, documents of undoubted credit: but neither by the poets, nor in the Triads, is he any ways exalted above other princes, who held similar stations in the country."

Arthur was not only celebrated for his valour as a warrior, but for every trait forming the character of a great prince. He is particularly held up to our view as possessing great zeal for the Christian religion, the defence of which, against the Pagan Saxons, was used as a powerful argument to animate the courage of the Britons. Sir Richard Blackmore has made fine use of this in his poem of ARTHUR;* and the interview between this hero and Howel the Armorican king is well conceived.

As to the real state of religion in Britain, during the reign of Arthur and his father, we shall have shortly to revert to that subject; but we must not be too forward to decide on that head, from the ferociousness which appears to have marked the character and proceedings of many of the Britons of those times. True religion is too rare in every age; and the present manners of a British populace, as well as of their superiors, might make our religion appear as questionable as that of the Britons of the sixth century. The turbulency of those times afforded little room for the exercise of religion, in all its benign tendency and amiable qualities.

* Whatever may be thought of the general merit of that work, the author has succeeded admirably in distinguishing between the Britons and their forces, ranged under their various tribes; and the Saxons and their auxiliaries, on the other hand.

As to the real character and achievements of Arthur, we may easily perceive that he was not always the invincible hero. Of the battles which, according to Nennius and others, he is said to have fought, we have reason to doubt whether this hero was at all present at several of them. We must look for the scenes of his battles either on the borders of the Severn, or in Cumberland. His nephew Modred was in fact his rival, and appears to have had many adherents, although our ancient records represent him as an arrant traitor. Arthur, by his valour, raised himself to notoriety; but, in the latter part of his life, he seems to have lost the confidence of several of his former friends.

The Silurian princes claimed ascendancy over the chiefs of the Cymry; and the exigency of the times elevated Arthur to a post of high honour, of which in general he shewed himself worthy. The Cambro-Britons and the Cornish Britons equally revered him: but he sometimes used his influence to aggrandize himself; and this awakened a spirit of jealousy, which ultimately proved fatal to him.

Mr. Turner has collected certain notices respecting Arthur, that cast some light upon his personal character, and accord with the manners of the age in which he lived.* Meeting with a prince in Glamorganshire, who was flying from his enemies, Arthur was at first desirous of taking by force the wife of the fugitive. But he was persuaded to refrain from the injustice, and to assist the prince to regain his lands. Arthur is also stated to have plundered St. Paternus, and to have destroyed a monastery. "These incidents," says the Anglo-Saxon historian, "suit the short character which Nennius gives of him, that he was cruel from his childhood."

* See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I. c. 2.

Arthur appears to have been unfortunate in his domestic connexions, for the unchastity of his wives is recorded in the Triads; and from a life of Gildas by Caradoc of Lancarvan, it appears that Melvas, the king of Somersetshire, carried off Arthur's wife, by force, to Glastonbury. Arthur, with his friends, whom he collected from Cornwall and Devonshire, assaulted the ravisher. The ecclesiastics interposed, and persuaded Melva to return her peaceably. Arthur received her, and both the kings rewarded the monks for their useful interference. This shews Arthur to be a man of only "moderate greatness."

That Arthur was not always the patriotic warrior, appears from his contests in the north, where, in an engagement, he killed Hoel, a native prince, and triumphed as having slain his most powerful enemy. "Thus Arthur," to use the words of Mr. Turner, "by his wars with his own countrymen, as much assisted the progress of the Saxons, as he afterwards endeavoured to check it, by his struggles with Kerdic."

As to Arthur's greatest achievement, the battle of Badon Mount, this victory only stopped the progress of Kerdic, and gave repose to the Silurian territory. But Arthur was not able to retaliate on the foe, and Kerdic retained the conquests he had made.

Arthur is represented by the Bards, his coevals, very differently from what is advanced respecting him by the romancing Geoffry. Neither Llowarch nor Taliesin say extravagant things of this hero; nor do they ever speak of him as king of all Britain. The continual and rapid conquests of Kerdic, of Ella, and of other successful warriors among the Saxons and Angles, totally disprove the accounts of Geoffry. And yet he, upon the whole, was the most gallant of all the British princes;

and his name deserves to be enrolled among the ancient heroes of the Isle of Britain.

Settlement of the Angles in the North.

THE Britons of Wales, and of the north, being at variance among themselves, and having lost two of their greatest men in the battle of Camlan, Arthur and Modred; there was a favourable opportunity for landing a foreign force on the banks of the Humber. It was at this critical juncture that a potent chief, of the name of Ida, landed on the Northumbrian coast, with a numerous body of Angles, conveyed in forty vessels. The former invaders were either Jutes, or Saxons. The name of Saxon has been frequently given, in an indiscriminate manner, to the various tribes that invaded Britain from the north of Germany; but Bede and others have given the general appellation of *Angli* to all that settled in the island during the fifth and sixth centuries. The last name is retained in *Anglia* and *England*; while the native Welsh and Irish retain the name of *Saxon*, and apply it to the inhabitants of those parts of the kingdom, supposed to be descended from the German tribes.

That part of the island which lies between the Humber and the Clyde was occupied by Britons; but they were divided into many states. The country nearest the Humber was anciently called *Deiwyrr*, and this was by the conquerors called *Deira*; north of *Deiwyrr* was *Bryneich* (signifying mountainous tracts) which was latinized into *Bernicia*. We have in the Triads the names of three sovereigns of these territories, Gall, Dyvedel, and Ysgavnell.

Reged, the territory of Urien the applauded patron

of Taliesin, lay to the north of the Humber. Nearer to the Clyde we have the names of three other British chieftains, *Rhydderch*, *Gwallog ap Llëenog*, and *Morgant*. *Llowarch Hen*, the Bard, was prince of *Argoed*. *Aneurin*, the Bard, was lord of *Gododin*, or *Otadinia*, a district rather northward of the Tweed. A chieftain of the name of *Mynyddawg* ruled near the friths at *Eidyn*; "which has been conjectured," says Turner, "to be the origin of *Edinburgh*, or the burgh of *Edin*." *Cunedda* was also a wledig, or sovereign, in some of these regions; and *Caw*, the father of *Gildas*, was another. These, when overpowered by the Anglo-Saxons, removed into Wales.

One county in the North, that of Cumberland (*Gwlad y Cymry*), still contains in its name an acknowledgment of its ancient population. Whether that was included in the kingdom of the *Cymry Ystrad Clwyd*, or the Strath-Clyde Britons, admits of some doubt: that territory, it seems more probable, included only the country contiguous to the Clyde; and its capital was Alclyde, the present *Dunbarton*, or more properly *Dunbritton*. *Ystrad Clwyd*, literally translated, is Clydesdale; the princes of which, at one time, held an intimate intercourse with the lords of *Dyffrin Clwyd*, or *Cluyde*, the Eden of North Wales:

"Where mountain over mountain peeps the head;
"And smiles to see its variegated bed."

The inhabitants of these northern territories appear to have made, for some time, a firm stand against their invaders. *Urien*, the prince of *Reged*, and his sons, and the valiant *Owen* in particular, signalized themselves in various battles fought with *Ida*; and especially in that bloody fight at *Argoed Llwyvaen*, where the enemy met

with the most determined resistance. Taliesin has addressed several poems to his generous patron Urien: his verse flows in strains of melancholy, describing the feats of heroic gallantry, scenes of slaughter, mournfully vibrating on the Bardic lyre.

The battle of Argoed was fought between the Northumbrian Britons, and Ida, to whom the Bard gives the appellation of *Flamddwyn*, or the Firebrand. The action was fought on a Saturday; the contest commencing with sun-rise, and terminating only with the close of day. The foe divided his forces into four companies, with the design of surrounding the troops of Urien, and his auxiliaries. They spread from Argoed to Arfynydd; and demanded submission and hostages from the Cymry. The proposal was indignantly rejected; the contest was furiously carried on; and the Saxons suffered a terrible defeat.

Y bore Dduw Sadwrn cad vawr a fu
 O'r pan dwyre haul hyd pan gynnu;
 Dygrysowys Flamddwyn yn bedwarllu
 Goddeu a Reged i ymddullu,
 Dyfwy o Argoed hyd Arfynydd,
 Ni cheffynt eirioes hyd yr undydd.
 Attorelwis Flamddwyn, fawr drybestawd
 A ddodynt yngwystlon, a ynt parawd?
 Yr attebwys Owain, ddwyrain ffosawd
 Ni ddodynt, nid ydynt, nid ynt parawd
 A Chenev mab Coel byddai Cymwyawg lew
 Cyn attaliai owystl nebawd.
 Attorelwis Urien Udd yr echwydd
 O bydd ynghyfarfod am garennnydd
 Dyrchafwn eidoed odduch mynydd
 Ac ymporthwn wyneb odduch emyl
 A drychafwn beleidyr odduch ben gwyr
 A chyrchwyn Flamddwyn yn ei luydd
 A lladdwn ag ef ai gyweithydd

A rhag gwaith Argoed Llwyvaen
 Bu llawer Celain
 Rhuddei frain chag rhyfel gwyr
 A gwerin a gryswys gan ei newydd.

On the morn of Saturday a great fight ensued,
 Which lasted from the rising of the sun until its going down:
 Flamddwyn (*Ida*) hastened in four divisions
 To fight the forces of Goddeu and Reged.
 They reach'd from Argoed to Awynydd,
 And one day only did they survive.
 Flamddwyn shouted with mighty bustle,
 "Will they (the Britons) give pledges; are they ready?"
 He was answered by Owen, brandishing his spear,
 "No pledges would they give; nor were they ready."
 And Kenau, son of Coel, was like an enraged lion,
 Before he would yield the pledge to any man.
 Urien, lord of the region, called aloud:
 "Being assembled with our kindred,
 We'll elevate our banners above the hills;
 And push on our forces over the uplands;
 And lift our spears above their heads,
 And will rush upon Flamddwyn in the midst of his troops;
 And mix in the slaughter with him and his auxiliaries:
 And, because of the battle of Argoed Llwyvein,
 There fell many a carcase;
 And the ravens were coloured with human gore:
 And the people were tumultuous when the news of it was spread.

Another battle, with the same intrepid leader, was
 that fought at *Gwenystrad*, or The Fair Valley: and we
 have the poem in which Taliesin celebrates the bravery
 of his countrymen on that occasion.

"Extol the men of Cattraeth, who, at the dawn,
 Accompanied Urien, their victorious leader:
 He was a renowned chieftain;
 The protection of the monarchy:

Matchless was his valour,
 Of invincible prowess, the generous commander.
 The men of Prydyn came with their hosts,
 To the spacious plains of Gwenystrad, to offer battle.
 Neither the fields, nor the woods, afforded refuge to the foe,
 When they came full of fury,
 Like the roaring wave bursting on the beach.
 I saw the brave warriors, embattled;
 And after the battle, the mangled corpses:
 I beheld the tumult of the falling ranks;
 And the blood gushing and covering the ground.
 Gwenystrad was defended by a rampart.
 Wounded were warriors prostrate on the ground:
 I saw, at the pass of the ford, the blood-stained warriors
 Dropping their arms through the extremity of distress:
 When they lost *the day* they jointly fell:
 With their hands on the cross, horror was in their aspect.
 I admir'd the courage of the lord of Reged;
 I saw Urien's reddened brow, when he fell upon his foe
 By the stones of Galysten; and his rage was satiated with slaughter.

But the king of Reged, after long shielding his country against a foreign foe, was slain by the hand of treachery.

The valiant Owen is frequently extolled by Taliesin: the poet says, "That the shield of Owen never receded;" it was by his hand that Ida (or Flamddwyn) perished.

The battle of Cattræth is rendered famous, in being made the subject of the *Gododin*, the most celebrated of all our ancient poems: Taliesin also has frequent allusions to that decisive contest between the northern Britons and the Saxons.

Mr. Turner's remarks on the battle of Cattræth are concise and appropriate: "It appears, from this poem, that the Britons consisted of many chiefs, with their forces, from Deira and Bernicia; from the Novantes, Eiddyn, and other places; who had confederated together to oppose the Saxons. The supreme British chief seems to have been Mynyddawg, of Eiddyn: but

many other warriors are extolled by the poet. Their host was a collection of the British strength in those parts: and three hundred and sixty-three of the Britons are stated to have been distinguished by wearing the golden tongues; which was a mark either of wealth or rank. Aneirin, who was himself the son of a petty ruler in the North, was engaged in the battle. The Britons unfortunately had indulged too liberally in a previous carousal. The poem abounds with lamentations on this disastrous circumstance. The result was the total defeat of the Britons; and the destruction of all their leaders but three, of whom the commemorating Bard was one."

To Cattraeth's vale, in glitt'ring row,
Twice two hundred warriors go.

When we review the length of time which it took to establish the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in Britain, we may well admire the courage of our British ancestors on the one hand, and the undaunted perseverance of the Saxons on the other. In the North, especially, the struggle was long and arduous. The West Riding of Yorkshire was not subjugated until the year 620; nor Lancashire until half a century afterwards. East Anglia was colonized by Saxons, about A. D. 500; and its monarchy established A. D. 580; Essex about the same time; Mercia A. D. 586.

Every warrior's manly neck
Chains of regal honours deck;
Wreath'd in many a golden link:
From the golden cup they drink
Nectar, that the bees produce,
Or the grape's ecstatic juice.

Flush'd with mirth and hope, they burn:
 But none from Cattraeth's vale return,
 Save Aeron brave, and Conan strong,
 (Bursting through the bloody throng)
 And I the meanest of them all,
 That live to weep and sing their fall.

Gray's Imitation of Anacrin.

Britain was invaded by a confederacy of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes; but along with these there are thought to have been Frisians, and others. These latter were probably pretty numerous, so that some have conjectured that the old English language derived its strongest tincture from the Frisians. In the course of the long-protracted and successive contests of upwards of a century, vast numbers of people of various tribes became mingled with the original invaders and their descendants. During this long interval of warfare and hostility, the Gwyddel, or Hibernian Scots, are found joining the *Cymry*; and the Picts coalescing with the invaders. In the poems of Llowarch, we have also the Franks mentioned in that beautiful *dirge on the death of Cynddylan*, a prince of Powys; who hospitably received our Bard after his disasters in the North.

In the poems of Llowarch, there are many allusions to the history of that calamitous period, when the Bard lived. He speaks, in the poem alluded to, of the churches of Bassa, a name given to the site of one of Arthur's battles; but it would by this appear that in this instance, as in some others, battles are ascribed to Arthur, at which he was never present. The *Loegrois* (*Lloegyrwys*), or Loegrians, that is the central Britons, are represented in a state of hostility with the *Cymry*, and fighting with the Saxons; and for this reason, after the establishment of the Saxons, the *Cymry*, while they

called the country *Loegyr*, as they still do, gave the inhabitants the name of *Saeson*.*

Cynddylan, son of the Prince of Powys, a territory which comprized parts of Shropshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire, fell in battle in the vicinity of Shrewsbury, then called Pengwern, the seat of royalty. The Bard, lamenting his patron, says, "Cynddylan, thy heart was like the fire raging through the heath—in embracing the society of thy countrymen, and in defending *Tren* (or *Tern*), now laid waste. Cynddylan, thy heart is now like the ice of winter. Cynddylan was the glorious pillar of his territory: he wore the wreath of honour, and was foremost in the host. Cynddylan was (swift) as the hawk; and tenacious in his onset: he had the heart of a wild boar: when he descended into the tumult of battle there was dreadful carnage: he was bold as the lion; furious, like the wolf tearing his prey." But I shall here annex the elegant lines of the Rev. John Walters, of Cowbridge, as an imitation of Llowarch's elegy on the death of Cynddylan:

The death of Cynddylan, the son of Cyndrwyn, prince of Powys: imitated from the Welsh of Llowarch Hen.

Come forth and see, ye Cambrian dames,
Fair Pengwern's royal roof on flames.
The foe the fatal dart hath flung,
(The foe that speaks a barbarous tongue)
And pierc'd Cynddylan's princely head;
And stretch'd your champion with the dead:
His heart which late, with martial fire,
Bade his lov'd cōuntry's foes expire;
Such fire as wastes the forest hill,
Now like the winter's ice is chill.
O'er the pale corpse, with boding cries,
Sad Argod's cruel eagle flies;

* Gorthmul, Morial and Caranmael, Cynan and Cynvraith, are mentioned in the elegy of Cynddylan.

He flies exulting o'er the plain,
 And scents the blood of heroes slain.
 Dire bird! this night my frightened ear
 Thy loud ill-omen'd voice shall hear.
 I know thy cry that screams for food,
 And thirsts to drink Cynddylan's blood.
 No more the mansion of delight,
 Cynddylan's hall is dark to-night,
 Nor more the midnight hour prolongs,
 With fires, and lamps, and festive songs:
 Its trembling Bards afflicted shun
 The hall, bereaved of Cyndroyn's son:
 Its joyous visitants are fled,
 Its hospitable fires are dead.
 No longer ranged on either hand
 Its dormitory couches stand;
 But all above, around, below,
 Dread sights, dire sounds, and shrieks of woe.
 Awhile I'll weep Cynddylan slain,
 And pour the weak desponding strain;
 Awhile I'll soothe my troubled breast,
 Then in eternal silence rest.

The concise abruptness of the original shews a heart
 overloaded with sorrow, and forms the strongest evi-
 dence of their being the genuine remains of Llowarch.
 I refer the curious reader, and especially if he be a Cam-
 brian, to Mr. Owen's edition of the poems of this un-
 fortunate Bard. I subjoin a few of the most expressive
 of the original stanzas:

Ystavell Cynddylan ys tywyll heno
 Heb dân, heb wely—
 Wylav dro, tawav wedy!

Ystavell Cynddylan ys tywyll heno
 Heb dân, heb oleuad—
 Elid amdaw am danad!

Ystavell Cyddylan ys digariad heno
Gwedy'r neb pieuvad—
Wi! o angau, byr a'm gad!

Ystavell Cyddylan ys tywyll heno,
Heb dân, heb gerddau—
Dygystudd deurudd dagrau!

Ystavell Cyddylan a'm gwân ei gweled,
Heb doed, heb dân—
Marw vy nglyw, byw my hunan!

My English reader will pardon my mountain Greek—I recollect myself, and return to my subject, to close my historical sketch of that period of our national history; terminating in the establishment of the Anglo-Saxons in all the eastern and central parts of Britain. I shall then have done with noticing the deeds of slaughter and bloodshed; and rejoice, that in the age in which we live, all distinctions are blended, and Britain reposes under the shade of one monarch and one legislature.

The various territories occupied by the Anglo-Saxons were as follows:

The Jutes possessed Kent, the Isle of Wight (*Vectis*), and that part of the coast of Hampshire which fronts it.

The Saxons were subdivided, into South Saxons, in Sussex; East Saxons, in Essex, Middlesex, and the south part of Hertfordshire; West Saxons, in Surrey, Hampshire (the coast of the Jutes excepted), Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and that part of Cornwall which the natives were unable to retain:* this kingdom was called Wessex.

The Angles were divided into East Angles in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and part of Bed-

* Athelstan took Exeter from the Britons.

fordshire. Middle Angles, in Leicestershire, which appertained to Mercia.

The Mercians, divided by the Trent into South Mercians, in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon, the north parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Bucks, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire.

The North Mercians were in the counties of Chester, Derby, and Nottingham.

The Northumbrians, who were the same as the Deiri, inhabited the counties of Lancaster, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham.

The Bernicians occupied Northumberland, and the south of Scotland, between the Tweed and the Firth of Forth.

As it does not comprise a part of our original plan to treat of the history of the Anglo-Saxons, we shall conclude this period of British transactions with a few remarks.

The eastern shores were first assailed, and the contiguous countries were first conquered. It was with greater difficulty that the Saxons gained footing in the central parts of the kingdom; and that only by means of continual reinforcements, by the coming over of new bands of roving adventurers, willing to try their fortune in a fine and fertile country. The Britons of the western coast, from Cornwall to the Clyde, valiantly opposed the new comers; and were successful in defending their country, long after a great part of Britain was laid under the Saxon yoke.

The Coritani, or the people of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutlandshire, &c. according to the Triads, joined the Saxons, and confederated with them against the natives who wished to retain their independence,

but ultimately fell a prey to their mutual feuds and jealousies against each other. The natives of Wales alone successfully maintained themselves independent of a foreign yoke ; and many of the chiefs of various districts, who lost their dominions, fled into that country for refuge, rather than live in a state of vassalage. As the Saxons were heathens, many of the religiously disposed were glad to secure not only shelter from the storm, but to be gratified with liberty to enjoy the consolations of Christianity. Many religious institutions were founded in the sixth century, in consequence of the desire of these distressed families to devote themselves to a religious life, under the protection of the Cambrian princes.

The Bards, although professing Christianity, made pretensions to the gift of vaticination, and especially Merddin and Taliesin. The latter, after lamenting the subjugation of England to foreigners, comforts his countrymen with the assurance, that in a future age the Britons should regain their sovereignty by triumphing over the aliens. The poem I allude to is well known among the Welsh :

Sarphies cadwynog, &c.

The Bard having mentioned that the Britons have lost their country, all but the wilds of *Wallia*, by the prevalence of the Saxon arms, from the northern ocean to the Severn ; then predicts, that the imperial crown shall be restored to the Britons, and the aliens should vanish away.

Yna bydd Brython
Yn garcharorion
Yn mraint alltudion
O Saxonia.

Eu ner a volant
A'u hiaith a gadwant

Eu tir a gollant
Ond gwyllt Walia

Oni ddel rhyw fyd
Yn ol hir benyd
Pan vo gogyhyd
Y ddau draha.

Yno caiff Brython
Eu tir a'u cŵron
A'r bobl estronion
A ddivlana.

But the most remarkable poem of this kind is, the *Arymes Prydain of Golyddan*, which runs altogether in a strain of vaticination; and, what is singular, we have such expressions as these;

Mab Mair, mawr ei air! Prydna thardded
Rhag pennaeth Saeson, ac eu hofed!
Pell bwynt cychmyn i Wrtheyrn Gwynedd!
Ev gyrhaut Allmyn i alltudedd.

O son of Mary, whose praise is great! why were we not rous'd
To resist the dominion of the Saxons? But we cherished them!
Shame to the cowards of the Venedotian Vortigern
The Almans might have been driven away hence.

I may be excused for giving a few more extracts from this ancient poem, which is rather more intelligible than the *Gododin of Aneurin*, and perhaps not inferior to it in boldness of sentiment, and that copiousness, joined with abruptness of expression, so congenial with the manner of our ancient Bards.

When they (the Saxons) purchas'd Thanet by craft,
In which Horsa and Hengist chiefly excelled,
Their aggrandisement proved our disgrace:
After concerting the plot of death, the slaves return.

Reflect on the intoxication at the banquet of mead—
 Reflect on the violent death of many guests!
 Reflect on the incurable wounds—the tears of matrons,
 When woeful mourning was roused by the cruel Pagan!
 Reflect on the calamitous lot that will befall us,
 When the lurkers of Thanet become our sovereigns.

The Bard bids the Britons commit their cause to God and to Dewi:—"Let our foes be discordant for want of a commander; but let the Cymry and the Saxons meet in the field, for the decision of the confused conflict, and the strife of valour. When the foe tries the fortune of the mighty leader; when the grove trembles with the warrior's shout; when the battle is joined for the Wye and the land of lakes; the standard shall advance, and the terrible assault; and the Saxons shall drop like the buds of the forest."

The name of a place called Aber Peryddon is recorded: a descent was made by eighteen thousand men, of whom four hundred only returned. "They told a tale of peace to their wives, who smelled their garments full of gore."

The Bard then rouses his countrymen—

Let the Cymry be collected regardless of life;
 The men of the south will defend themselves from paying tribute:
 Keen let the swords be ground; they will utterly destroy.
 Let the Cymry exalt themselves—
 In putting an end to their vassalage they will mock at death;—
 Never, no never, will they deliver a tribute.

The rage of warfare, with no tincture of humanity, runs through the whole; and the only trace of religion is an appeal to the Trinity, vowing thanks for their deliverance from their foes: and the Bard prays that their Saxon invaders may have multitudes of fatherless children. He predicts that, "through the prayers of Dewi

and the saints of Prydyn, they shall fly out of the land,
as far as the stream of Argelo.

The Bard then, in a prophetic strain, proceeds :

“ The day shall arrive, when men shall assemble unanimous in council,
With one heart, one design ; and Lloegyr shall be wasted with fire.
The alien shall remove, the Pagan shall be put to flight ;
And well I know success awaits us, whatever chance befalls.
Let the Cymry rush to the conflict, like a bear from the mountain,
To revenge the treacherous murder of their ancestors :
And in condensing the quick piercing spears,
Let not friends protect the bodies of each other.
Let them multiply the brainless skulls of the chiefs ;
Let them multiply their widow'd matrons, and steeds without riders.
Let them increase the greedy ravens before the warriors ;
And let there be many a maimed hand before our host separates.
The messengers of death shall meet the Saxon chief,
When the carcasses of his men are heaped about him :
We shall be revenged of the Pagan for his oppressive tribute,
His frequent messages, and his treacherous army.”

CHAPTER X.

State of the British Church from the æra of the Saxon invasion to the commencement of the seventh century.

DURING that historical epoch which we have been surveying, we can distinguish few things favourable in the civil character of the Britons, when contrasted with their Pagan invaders. The ambition, the treachery, and the fierceness of the chiefs, and the indolence and apathy of the common people, afford us but very faint outlines of the Christian virtues. The animosity which subsisted between the different states, obstructed the union which was necessary to enable them to repulse their public enemy. It was seldom they could be induced, by a sense of the common danger, to unite their counsels for the general security. Had they been animated in due season with the spirit of genuine patriotism, and sought help from heaven, their enemies could never have prevailed over them; for the number of the Anglo-Saxon adventurers was at no time so formidable, but that, by means of a well-concerted coalition on the part of the Britons, their whole force might have been discomfited. Arthur, Ambrosius and Urien, Owen and Cunedda, Cynddylan, and the sons of Llowarch, excelled in military bravery; but their ferociousness was such, that we see little distinction between these Christian knights and their Pagan antagonists. In the poem of Golyddan we perceive raging thirst for blood, and delight in the trade of slaughter. In the great battle of

Cattraeth, the Bard laments, that the warriors went to battle in a state of intoxication ; so that, however endued with native courage, their defeat can excite no astonishment in the reflecting mind.

The Saxons are represented as carrying fire and sword before them, and destruction attending all their steps. As heathens, they were doubtless implacable against the religion of Christ ; and we may easily believe, that they destroyed the churches, and persecuted the clergy. Gildas gives us a dismal picture of the devastations of the Saxons, the effects of which were felt by his own family, who were obliged to retire into Wales for a refuge from the storm. But he regards the whole as the just visitation of heaven upon a stupid and profligate people, who neglected to make a proper use of the bounties of heaven ; and upon a church that was become so corrupt as to abuse the light and privileges they had enjoyed.

Particular instances are given of the Saxon kings treating the Christians with the utmost barbarity. Hengist has been depicted as a monster of cruelty ; and Kerdic, the king of the West Saxons, is represented as conducting himself towards the Christians in the most ferocious manner : but there were among the native Britons some who bore the Christian name, whose conquests were marked with great inhumanity. One instance is given in Ceadwalla : that prince, according to Bede's account of him, was in spirit and behaviour an utter barbarian, not sparing even the women and children in his ravages ; consigning all his enemies to death without quarter or distinction, after inflicting upon them the most savage tortures. He carried desolation through every district exposed to his rage, being bent upon the utter extirpation of the Angles, who had seated themselves in the territories contiguous to him.

As to the vulgar notion, that wherever the Saxons prevailed, they exterminated the native Britons, the absurdity of the position confutes itself, although we had no positive facts to throw light on the subject. The conquerors, during the rage of warfare, and when flushed with victory, may be supposed to have acted with that haughtiness and cruelty, which too frequently characterized the triumphs of ancient nations; but when the first outrages were over, and they saw the land in their possession, they would at any rate consider the natives as useful to them as their cattle. The Saxons must have been aware that the strength of the country lay in its population; and they must, therefore, have been anxious to subdue rather than destroy.

The numbers of the Saxons and Angles were far too few to form the great bulk of the English nation, as we find it in the centuries that succeeded; especially when we consider the great number of the warriors that fell in the bloody contests maintained with the Britons; and that it is probable few of their females accompanied these adventurers.

The great body of the people that inhabit every part of the island, must be considered, therefore, as derived from its ancient and primary occupiers, augmented by the accession of various nations, whether Roman, Batavian, Frankish, or Saxon. We are ready to admit that great havoc was made among the Britons, wherever the Saxons established themselves; but after all, the major part of the population must continue to consist of British blood. But the hypothesis, that the great bulk of the ancient Britons retreated into Wales and Cornwall, is one of those romantic theories, which can pass current only for want of being investigated. Those countries contain the descendants of the genuine Britons, who originally occupied them before and since

the coming of the Romans, with the accession of some distressed families, who fled there from the rage of their conquerors.

The affirmation of the Triads is just and natural, and recommends itself to the common sense of every intelligent investigator of our ancient history. In speaking of the *Coritani* (or the people of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, &c.), it affirms, that "they became one people with the Saxons; and that *all the Loegrians* (or ancient inhabitants of England) incorporated themselves with that people, excepting alone the natives of Cornwall, and the district of Carnoban in Deira and Bernicia; that is, the north of England, the other side of the Humber and the Tees. But of the Cymry, it is said, they preserved their country and their language, although they forfeited their claim to the sovereignty of the Isle of Britain."

The number of old British words incorporated with our modern national tongue, shews that the Saxons and Britons were mingled together. That the number of British radicals which enter into the composition of the English language is far greater than has generally been allowed by our lexicographers, will, I am persuaded, admit of proof. If we make due allowance for the alteration of sound, and a different inflection, it may be made to appear that the English tongue is considerably indebted, either to the ancient British, as still retained in Wales, and till lately in Cornwall; or to those ancient dialects that prevailed in the countries first occupied by the Saxons. It should also be considered that many of the Britons spoke the language of Rome, perhaps as commonly as the English language is now spoken in Wales; and it is from thence, I apprehend, that we may most rationally account for the great number of Latin words to be found in that noble and copious language.

These considerations introduce our enquiries respecting the state of religion in those districts where the Saxon arms prevailed. What became of the religion of the British Christians, thus subdued? Their sacred edifices, of which many were erected by the Romans, were laid waste, it is thought, by their heathen subjuggators: but all the Saxons did not persecute Christianity with the same determined hostility. Kerdic behaved with liberality towards the British Christians of Wessex, after their submission to his sway; so that the public profession of Christianity, if not so free as heretofore, was not totally prohibited. We find, by the reception that Augustine met, when he came over, that there were some traces of Christianity existing; and a willingness in some to be instructed in its doctrines. But as most of the clergy and religious characters fled into Wales, the Saxons and the Loegrian Britons were left in a very destitute condition with respect to religion; so that when Augustine came, he found no pastors nor teachers of religion among them.

The various religious institutions established in Wales, and especially those at Lancarvan and Lantwit, afforded a retreat for learning and piety during the troubles that ensued upon the coming over of the Saxons and their allies. Garmon and Lupus had a great share in promoting such institutions among the Britons. Among those who lived in the exercises of devotion, or were devoted to theological studies, in those places, there were many persons of eminence from France and Brittany, who had been annoyed by the Franks at home, as the British Christians were by the Saxons. Several families from Cumberland, and from the south of Scotland; such as the numerous family of Caw, of whom Gildas was one, found an asylum in the regions of Cambria.

The old British college at Lantwit arose out of an

imperial seminary, at *Caer Worgorn*, founded by the Emperor *Theodosius the Great*; under whose auspices one *Balerus*, a Roman, is said to have been the moderator, or president, of it. Afterwards, *Patrick*, the son of *Mawon*, the famous apostle of the Irish, presided over it, until he was taken captive by the Irish pirates, who infested those coasts; which was often the case during the fifth and sixth centuries, when they were expelled from North Wales by the sons of *Cunetha*; and from the south by the aid of *Urien of Reged*.* *Iltutus*, from *Armorica*, was afterwards made moderator of that college; and, from him, it was called *Llan-Iltut*, that is *Fanum Illuti*, or the sanctuary of *Iltutus*. This holy man was succeeded by *Peirio*; and he by *Sampson*, to whose memory we have a monument still preserved in *Lantwit church-yard*.

Cadocus, or *Cadog*, gave his name to several of our churches in Wales; and we have many proverbs that go under his name. He had the epithet of *wise* bestowed upon him. He presided over the institution at *Lancarvan*, which from him was called *Bangor Cadog*. He, like several others of the religious of that age, was a Bard.† It is to the memory of this saint that *Langadock* in *Caermarthenshire*, *Langattock* in *Breconshire*, and *Langattock* in *Caerleon*, are dedicated.

Before *Garmon* left Britain, the second time, he took care to have *Dubricius*, or *Dubric*, whom the Welsh call *Dyfrig*, consecrated Bishop of *Landaff*; and he is considered the first diocesan bishop of that see; he was succeeded by *Tello*, or *Telïau*.

We have now to consider three of the greatest characters who appeared among the British Christians in the sixth century, *DEWI*, *KENTIGERN*, and *COLUMBA*. As

* See *Owen's Cambrian Biography*, and *Achau'r Saint*.

† Many of the clergy of that age appear to have been taken from among the Bards.

to the last-named, we shall have to speak of him as well as of Patrick, in another place. KENTIGERN, or *Kyndeyrn*, is presented to our notice as bishop, or rather primate, of the Clydesdale Britons; having his residence at Glasgow. DEWI, or David, is said at the same time, during the reign of Arthur, to have been the primate of the Cambrian churches, while BEDWINI exercised the same function in Cornwall. As to *Kyndeyrn*, he received the appellation of *Mwyngu* (Moyngee), or The Courteous; and this was the origin of the name of St. Mungo, to whom the cathedral of Glasgow, now called the *High Kirk*, was dedicated. This holy man was driven from his people and residence by the rage of his Pagan enemies, the Picts, and was compelled to seek for shelter in the Vale of Clwyd (or Cluyde). There, having received the sanction of Malgon, the prince of North Wales, he became the founder of a monastic institution, from which the episcopal see of St. Asaph arose, on the banks of the Elwy. But Kentigern being recalled to the North, and promised the protection of Rytherch, prince of the territory, resigned his situation in Wales to his disciple Asaph, whose name is still given to that bishopric.

The monastery which was founded on the river Elwy, is said to have been a very celebrated one. It was at first opposed by Prince Malgon, though he was afterwards induced to afford it his patronage. It contained 960 persons, whereof it is said he appointed 300 of such as were not inclined to study, to tillage and husbandry abroad; other three hundred he employed in sundry kind of works of a laborious nature, in and about the monastery; the rest were divided into companies to pursue their studies, or exercise their devotions. Thus one class or other was incessantly engaged in sacred services; for as soon as the one had fulfilled its allotted duties in the

choir, the other succeeded them. Asaph was the person whom the saint most admired for his piety and modesty; and, therefore, preferred him to preside over the institution when he himself returned to the North. It was probably owing to the residence of Kentigern in the Vale of Clwyd, that so close an intimacy after that subsisted between the princes of both territories. While in Wales he is said to have travelled the country on foot, preaching to the rude inhabitants, and converting many to the Christian faith, the country being in a great degree relapsed into a barbarous and heathen state. He erected several churches, and is said to have possessed the gift of healing diseases.

DEWI, or St. David, was the son of Santicus, or Sandde, son of Kedig, and grandson to Keredig, who gave the name of Keredigion, or Ceredigion, to the territory of Cardigan. Ceredig was one of the sons of Cunetha, a potentate from the North, who, with his family, removed into Wales about the beginning of the fifth century; and is noted in the British accounts for expelling the Hibernian rovers, who had possessed themselves of large tracts of the country. The mother of David was *Nona*, the daughter of Gynyr, a lord of the country near the Pembrokeshire promontory, or Land's End. He was educated by Paulinus, at *Whitland*, or *Ty gwyn*, in Caermarthenshire; and with him he is said to have continued ten years. Teilo and Padarn were his intimate friends; and they, as well as himself, became renowned among the British Christians of that age. In company with these, his friends, he is said to have travelled to Jerusalem, like other devout men, to see the scene of the great work of human redemption. After his return he was made primate of the Cambrian churches; and is supposed to have resided for a while at Caerleon, the Silurian capital, where King Arthur, his uncle, kept

his court. But the good man grew tired of so public a situation, and so near the borders of the Saxon territories. Removing to his own country, he had lands assigned him, and he founded a monastery which was afterwards held in high and superstitious veneration. But it does not appear that the saint absolutely confined himself to retirement and contemplation; for the Triads denominate him, in company with Teilo and Padarn, one of the three holy visitors, that went about preaching and teaching the inhabitants at large, without accepting of any remuneration; but, on the contrary, expending their own patrimony in administering to the necessities of the poor. The zeal and charity of these holy men of the church of *Wales* are deserving of the warmest admiration at this distant period; and the country where they lived, and where they preached, is at the present day honoured with a prelate who imitates the zeal and diligence of the primitive ages.

David was regarded as a person of considerable learning; and some works of his are spoken of as the writings of *Davidus Menevensis*; he being so named from the small territory of Menevia, called by the Welsh *Mynyw*. Great powers of elocution, as well as profound skill in theology, are attributed to him, of which we have a famous instance at the synod of Landewi Brevi, in Cardiganshire. He died at Menevia, since called St. David's, in the eighty-second year of his age. He sustained a high reputation for sanctity while he was alive; and has been greatly honoured in succeeding ages.*

Giraldus Cambrensis, in speaking of him, says, "That his holy life and bright example shined forth conspicuous

* The Welsh Bard, David ap Gwilym, of the 14th century, has an elegant poem addressed to a female pilgrim of distinction, on her perigrination from Holywell, to visit the shrine of St. David, in Pembrokeshire.

to all. He instructed the people, both by his word and his example. His preaching was most powerful, but his actions far more so." He is styled by the same author, "The ornament of the religious; the life of the needy; the defence of the orphan; the supporter of widows; the father of his pupils; making himself all things to all men, that he might win them to Christ." Usher, p. 254.

It is related by the biographer of St. Kentigern, that, on the very day of St. David's departure, it was divinely intimated to his friend, that he had left the world, and was gone to his reward. Kentigern was, at the time of that event, abbot of his new monastery, in the vale of Clwyd: he communicated to his disciples what had been revealed to him; and at the same time breaking forth, as if moved by prophetic impulse, he exclaimed, "Be assured that Britain, deprived of the light of so great a luminary, will have cause to lament his loss. The Lord will surely give up Britain to foreign nations that know not the true God. The island shall be in the possession of the Heathen, who will cast out the native inhabitants. The Christian religion shall be dispersed until the arrival of a certain period, when, by the Divine compassion, it shall be restored to a far better than its ancient state."

As to the vaticination here ascribed to Kentigern, it may be objected to his biographer, that the prophecy was, at the time of its delivery, already accomplished, as to the first part; for the Saxons were in possession of the most important parts of South Britain: and as to the second part, the monkish biographer, no doubt, applied it to the success of Augustine and his associates, in the following age.

But whatever actions may have been ascribed by ancient legendary writers to such holy men as David,

Patrick, and Kentigern, we may separate the chaff from the corn, and receive the genuine narrative, while we renounce the marvellous and the fictitious. We do not indeed design to allege that no superstitious practices attached to the celebrated characters of the sixth century, among our ancestors. We may easily censure the austerities they practised, or find fault with their credulity; but we have no just right to do so, except while we are divested of their weaknesses, we excel them in sound doctrine, in scriptural zeal, laudable activity, and manly piety. Those who have leisure and opportunity to investigate the biographers of our ancient ecclesiastics, in the Cottonian library and other depositaries, might probably find some particulars that would throw light on the history of the British church, during the ages of which we are treating: but it requires some judgment to select what is of value, and to clear away the fictions invented by the monks.

But to resume the general subject, which now forms the theme of our investigation; the history of our churches during the fifth and sixth century. The labours of Germanus and Lupus were directed, as we have seen, not merely to the suppression of the Pelagian errors, but to restore Christianity where it was in a languishing state, to introduce wholesome regulations, establish the due order of Divine worship, and to provide a permanent supply of pastors and divines in the churches. We have already noticed the various religious institutions, or the early monasteries, of the fifth century. Some of these were under the direction of the Armorican Christians, brought over by Germanus; or chiefly consisted of persons from that country. The consequence was, a very intimate intercourse between Wales and Britany, which was facilitated by the near affinity of the language of the respective countries. We do

not mean to say that sacred services were always conducted in that age in the vulgar or vernacular tongue: and we have in another place given it as our opinion, that the Scriptures were mostly confined to a Latin version, which, in the Roman-British towns, might have been tolerably understood: but after the departure of the Romans, and especially in the territories of Cambria, the British must have been the ordinary colloquial dialect. This circumstance duly considered, as applicable to our own country, shews the great detriment that Christianity sustained for want of adapting religious services to the state of those called barbarous nations. Here we see the grand source of those errors and superstitions, which, in connexion with the prevalence of the arms of the Pagan-Saxons, tended to overwhelm the old British churches, with clouds of gross darkness.

Although Germanus and Lupus are said to have been so successful in suppressing Pelagianism, and renovating the lapsed condition of the British Christians; yet, we are told, that by the beginning of the sixth century, confusion and error again sprung up; and false doctrine was making a rapid progress in the Cambro-British churches. In order to check the spreading evil a general synod was held in a place called *Brevi*, and afterwards *Landewi Brevi*. Dubric, or Dubricius, was primate of the Welsh church at that time, A. D. 519, a little before the famous battle of Badon Mount, fought between Arthur and Cerdic. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his life of St. David, gives the following account of the synod of *Brevi*.

“ The detestable heresy of the Pelagians, although formerly extinguished through the labours of Germanus of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, when they came over to this island; this pestilence, although once put a stop to, sprung up anew, and gave occasion to the

convening of a general synod of all the churches of Wales. All the bishops and abbots, and religious of different orders, together with the princes and laymen, were assembled together at Brevi, in the county of Cardigan. When many discourses had been delivered in public, and were ineffectual to reclaim the Pelagians from their error; at length Paulinus, a bishop, with whom David had studied in his youth, very earnestly entreated, that that holy, excellent, and eloquent man might be sent for. Messengers were, therefore, dispatched to desire his attendance; but their importunity was unavailing with the holy man, he being so fully and intensely given up to contemplation that it was urgent necessity alone that could induce him to pay any regard to secular concerns. At length two holy men, namely, Daniel and Dubricius, went over to him. By them he was persuaded to come to the synod; and upon his arrival he silenced the opponents, and they were utterly vanquished. But Father David, by the common consent of all, whether clergy or laity (Dubricius having resigned in his favour), was elected primate of the Cambrian churches."

Some time after this another synod was held, at a place which, in Giraldus, is called Victoria; and in this the decrees of the former synod were confirmed. And now we are told that the churches flourished, and increased exceedingly. One sign of this prosperous state of the church, according to Giraldus, was the founding of various monasteries, and the collecting various congregations of religious persons, who retired from the world to give themselves up entirely to devotion. But the labours of the primate, his zeal for truth, his charity and his holy life, adorned the Christian cause. How long he continued to fulfil his metropolitan office is not certain, as he retired to his monastery in Pem-

brokeshire, for some years before his death. As he was reluctantly induced to accept of the honours conferred upon him, he probably did not long continue in his dignity of archbishop.

It was in the year after the Synod at Brevi, that the great battle of Badon Mount was fought. By the success of the Britons, under Arthur, in that action, the Saxons, under Cerdic, were prevented crossing the Severn, and pushing their conquests into the Silurian territories; and thus the churches of Cambria were providentially enabled to enjoy repose, and afford an asylum to the persecuted Christians, from those parts of the island subjugated to the Saxons.

The Cambro-Britons could not refrain from their old customary practices, of disturbing each other by mutual jealousies, being unable to continue long without some variances among themselves. But, as Gildas observes, the remembrance of their late calamities was for awhile the means of keeping up among them some kind of order and government. At this time, says Bishop Stillingfleet, Gildas speaks the best of the Britons that he doth in his whole book; for he says, that kings, and public and private persons, the bishops, and churchmen, did all keep to the duty of their places. But then he adds, when the sense of these calamities was worn out, and a new generation arose, they fell into such degeneracy as to cast off all the reins of truth and justice; that no remainder of it appeared in any sort of men, except a few, a very few, whose number was so small, in comparison with the rest, that the church could hardly discern her genuine children when they lay in her bosom.*

Soon after the death of Arthur, A. D. 542, some of

* Ut eos quodammodo venerabilis mater ecclesia in suo sinu recumbentes non videat, quos solos veros filios habeat.

the most eminent men in the British church departed this life. Of that great prince, it is said, by William of Malmsbury, "That, laying aside the frantic tales which the Britons believe concerning him, his deeds were worthy to be related by the pen of genuine history; for he was the stay of his sinking country, and he animated their unbroken spirits to deeds of war." Another ancient historian speaks more at large; "That he was truly worthy not to be the subject of fabulous tales, but to be honoured with a place in the annals of genuine history; for he restored his nation which had been trampled upon by foreigners, and drove off the perfidious invaders from the borders of his country. He reformed the celebration of Divine worship, which had been nearly destroyed, in the cities, villages, and towns; he restored the churches which had been destroyed by the Pagan Saxons, or were going to decay; and he took care to have proper pastors and bishops appointed, to watch over the churches, and to devote themselves to the study of religion."*

That the Saxons, at different times, broke into some parts of Wales, we have every reason to believe; and although we have no particulars related, it is probable that Arthur had many conflicts and skirmishes with parties of them, within the Cambrian territories, previous to that famous battle in Somersetshire with Kerdic.

The death of David we have mentioned as happening about A. D. 544; and some time after died Daniel, who had collected a religious congregation, and founded a church upon the Menai, under the auspices of prince Malgon. This was the foundation of the bishopric of Bangor.

Kynog, or Kinocus, according to the British chronicle, succeeded St. David, as archbishop and primate of the

* Usher, p. 271.

Cambrian churches, being translated from *Lan Badarn* (*Fanum Paterni*) to occupy that dignity.

The island of Ramsay, or Enlli, off the coast of Carnarvonshire, was at this time become a place much resorted to for devout retirement. Here it was that Daniel, and several others of the British saints, ended their days; and so celebrated was this spot considered in after ages, that it obtained the name of *Ynys y mil saint*.*

There was also a similar place off the coast of Glamorgan, according to Usher: but it is not certain what island that was; it may have been the small Isle of Barry, or some spot contiguous to the promontory of Wormshead.

It was about the middle of the sixth century, that *Bangor Maclor*, called also *Bangor Iscoed*, on the river Dee, was founded by *Dunoth*, or *Dunod*, father of Daniel, just mentioned. Dunoth, in conjunction with his three sons, is said to have been the promoter of this institution, under the patronage of Cyngen, or Cunganus, the prince of the territory of Powys, in which this place was situated. We have before noticed, that in our old documents this is considered as the largest and the most celebrated of all the Bangors, or British monasteries. There have been egregious mistakes committed respecting the high antiquity of Bangor Iscoed; and it has been roundly asserted, that Pelagius, in the fourth century, was one of the monks of Bangor; whereas there were no religious institutions of the kind before the coming over of Garmon and Lupus.

Telias, whose proper name was Eliud, and by the Welsh called Teilo, appears to have been the principal person in the Cambrian church, after the secession of St. David from the primacy: but he is generally considered

* The island of the thousand saints, or monkish devotees.

as the first bishop of Landaff; and hence that diocese was called *Plwyf Teilo*, or The Parish of Teilo, and *Esco-baeth Teilo*, or The Bishopric of Teilo. As Dubricius was sometimes called the bishop of Landaff, and at other times the archbishop of Caerleon (that being the metropolitan city), Teilo also was denominated both ways. Landaff was the first consecrated place, at least in Wales; and hence the bishop of Landaff bore precedence: but, on account of the dignity of Caerleon, he was as metropolitan stiled archbishop of Caerleon. In process of time, the Welsh primate was called archbishop of St. David's: but the Landaff clergy became so displeased at the see being removed to St. David's, that they refused submission to the archbishop, and disputed precedency with him. Rather than be subject to St. David's, they preferred subjecting themselves to the English primate; this they accordingly did, when Dunstan filled the metropolitan see of Canterbury.

Paternus, (or *Padarn*), the founder of the monastery of Lanbadarn, which afterwards gave name to a diocese, exercised the pastoral care over his flock for twenty-one years; and then went over to Britany, his native country. Paternus was the intimate friend of Samson, the metropolitan of that country; and by him he was made bishop of Vannes.

There were two eminent persons in that age who bore the same name: him of whom we are now speaking was the son of Amon, an Armoric prince; and his mother was Anna, the daughter of Meirick ap Tewdrick, the same personage with Uthyr, the father of Arthur, whose nephew, therefore, this Samson was. He presided, for some time, over the college of Iltutus; he then removed into Britany, whence he returned into Glamorgan, and died at St. Iltutus's or Lantwit, where a stone monument, erected in honour of him, is still to be seen:

Mr. Turner has given an exact copy of the inscription on this monument in his *Vindication of the Bards*. The tenor and style of that inscription is curious, as it displays the growing superstition of that age, while the preservation of such a monument is a matter of curiosity to the general antiquary. The words on the stone are as follows : —“ IN NOMINE DI SUMMI INCIPIT CRUX SALVATORIS QUAE PREPARAVIT SAMSON PRO ANIMA SUA ET PRO ANIMA JUTHAELI.”

The inscription, the characters of which are perfect, being partly small Roman, and partly old British, imports that the stone was erected by Samson, in the name of the Supreme God, beginning with the cross of the Saviour, being set up for the sake of his own soul, and that of Juthael.* The dimensions of this stone are, in length 9 feet; breadth at top 27 inches; at bottom 28 inches; thickness 15 inches.

Are we at liberty to infer from the stone monument at Lantwit, that praying for the dead had begun to be customary, as early as the sixth century? As far as we are able to interpret the barbarous Latinity, that inference seems just; although the doctrine of purgatory, “that gainful contrivance of the priests of Rome,”† was not then devised. The learned primate of Ireland admits that the names of departed saints were commemorated in the ancient liturgies, although no prayers were addressed to them on behalf of those who survived them.

Samson, the archbishop of York, was brother to Gildas the historian; and as to what we find in those ancient writers mentioned by archbishop Usher, of his go-

* Judael, or Juthael, was lord of Wenttlog, in Monmouthshire, and gave lands of great value to the church, according to the *Liber Landavensis*. See Bishop Goodwin's succession of the bishops, under Landaff

† See Usher's religion of the ancient British and Irish.

ing over to Britany, this appears to be an error arising from the confusion of the two names. It must also be remembered, there was another dignitary of the name, distinct from either of these, who lived at a later period : this was Samson, bishop of St. David's, who presided over that diocese in the tenth century, and went over into Britany in consequence of an epidemical distemper that raged at home. He became archbishop of Dole ; and having carried with him the robe of office, or pall, the Menevian bishop lost the metropolitan dignity.

It was about the year 564, that Gildas is supposed to have written the epistle *De Excidio Britannicæ*. We may here discuss the question, whether this Gildas, called *Badonicus*, (because he was born on the day of the battle of the *Mons Badonicus*), was the same person as him called Gildas Albanicus.

Gildas Albanicus is spoken of, by ancient writers, as one of the students at Lantwit, under Illutus himself, in the fifth century : much is said of his reputation as a divine, and of his eloquence ; and he is said to have gone over to Ireland to preside over a religious institution in that country. He is said also to have been in France, where he continued seven years ; and, on his return to Britain, many crowded to him as his disciples, being esteemed the most learned divine of his age and nation. These things may not appear so consistent with the small remains of the composition of Gildas : but we well know how every thing said respecting the noted persons of that age, is exaggerated by the monkish writers ; either through their affection for high-sounding language, or from a desire to make their narratives complete ; thinking it no harm to supply what they thought wanting to make a round story. Usher mentions an ancient writer who speaks only of one Gildas : but the primate

thinks, that the difference of the times when each is said to have lived, sufficiently distinguishes between Gildas Albanicus, and him styled Badonicus. The one is commonly stated to have flourished in the fifth, and the other in the sixth century. But the hypothesis of Mr. Owen, which makes all this to be founded in a mere mistake, appears highly plausible, if not satisfactory; for the same Gildas may be entitled to both appellations, if we pay regard to real history. This person, with his father *Caw*, and the rest of the family, originally possessed a territory in the *Lothians*, from whence they were driven by the irruption of the Saxons. Gildas with several of his brothers, came to Glamorgan, and joined themselves to the institution at Lancarvan, under the care of Cadoc the Wise; while the father, and the rest of the family, had lands given them in Mona, or the Isle of Anglesea. Thus, according to country and origin, he might be called *Albanicus*, and from the circumstance before alluded to he might receive the name of *Badonicus*.

The following account, taken from Caradoc's life of Gildas, as given by the learned primate, is capable of being rectified by what has been stated as to the original country of our Gildas; and confirms what we have advanced as to his adopted country.

"Cadocus, abbot of Lancarvan, requested Gildas to undertake the charge of the seminary for the space of one year; this he acceded to, and presided with great advantage to the students. There he transcribed a copy of the four evangelists, which still remains (in the time of Caradoc, in the 13th century,) in St. Cadoc's church, being elegantly adorned all over with gold and silver to the honour of God, and of the holy copyist and gospels. The native Welsh people highly venerate this very superb volume, in all their oaths and protestations; and

they are afraid of even opening it for the sake of inspecting its contents; nor is there any compact or alliance considered binding among them, except it be confirmed by swearing upon this book. When that term of a year was now finished, and the students were returning home, Cadocus, the abbot, and the excellent theologian, Gildas, by mutual consent retired to the islands of Ronech and Echni.* Not being willing to be impeded in their contemplations by the intrusion of the multitude, in order to gratify their disposition for retirement, they knew of no better method than to quit the Valley of Carvan, and to betake themselves to some insular recess. While the blessed Gildas was engaged in his seclusion, in fasting and prayer, some pirates, from the Orkneys, came and spoiled him of all his goods, and took his servants captive, which so far molested his peace and comfort, that he resolved to quit the situation." In the sequel we are told that Gildas took shipping; and, arriving on the Somersetshire coast, entered Glastonbury with a heavy heart; but he was there well received, and had many disciples. Melwas was the lord of the surrounding country; and he had eloped with Guennivar, Arthur's queen, which offence enraged that prince to come against him with considerable force. The abbot and Gildas interposed to reconcile the princes, when hostilities were about to commence between them: the voice and exhortations of the ecclesiastics were attended to; and Guennivar was restored to her lawful husband and lord. Here it is affirmed Gildas composed his historical epistle; and here, according to the same account, he died.

In the narrative just recited we see a fine instance of confusion confounded. Gildas leaves Lancarvan monas-

* These were, probably, *Ynys y Moelroniald*, and *Ynys Enlli*, on the coast of Carnarvonshire.

tery to become an indolent and useless devotee in a wild island; and yet there he had goods and chattels, of which the pirates robbed him; and this disaster nearly broke his heart: and so he flies to Glastonbury to display both his learning and devotion among the monks there: and at length, having lived all his days, he died. Such is the amount of what Caradoc says respecting Gildas; with respect to whom, the truth appears to be this; that being driven from his country, he was glad to find a refuge in Wales, where he devoted himself to study, and to a religious life, until he died, and that most probably in the Vale of Glamorgan. But that Gildas did not live in such a state of absolute seclusion from the world as the monks in succeeding ages, will appear from the knowledge he seems to have of the state of public affairs; and the warmth which he displays in rebuking the vices of the various classes of society in his day.

We have before adverted to the dismal picture which Gildas draws of the religion and manners of the Britons: we shall here give some further sketches of the character he affords of our ancestors about the middle of the sixth century; and truly the portraiture is black and dismal. He is exceedingly severe on the princes of the country,* among whom he has been thought to glance at the great Arthur: but that prince must have been dead when Gildas was but a young man; and, therefore, any notice of him can hardly accord with the chronology of that

* There are five contemporary princes who fall under his reprehension: Malgon, prince of Gwynedh, or North Wales; Conan, or Kyaan, prince of Powys; Constantine, prince of Devon and Cornwall; Vortiporius, or Gwrthevyr, prince of Demetia, or West Wales; and Cunoglasus, whose territory is uncertain. Mr. Williams, in his History of Monmouthshire, supposes Cunoglasus to be no other than Arthur, from certain expressions in Gildas; *Et tu ab adolescentiæ annis ursi multorum sessor aurigæque currus receptaculum ursi.*

age. His heaviest stroke, however, is aimed at Malgon, the prince of North Wales, who is allowed to have been a restless and tyrannical man, although he did some acts of kindness to the church. He is called *In-sularis Draco*, because of his residence in the island of Mona. That prince is charged with adultery, tyranny, oppression, and every vice.

The clergy are charged with ignorance, insolence, and rapaciousness: he calls them haters of the truth, and lovers of falsehood; exhibiting the worst examples to the flock, and therefore unfit to reprove them for their vices. He charges them with the most shameful avarice, sensuality, and dissimulation. He bids the people beware of such ravening wolves; or otherwise that the blind being led by the blind, they both would fall into the pit of hell. As to the few, whom he exempts from the heavy charges which he brings against the generality, he blames them for their supineness in not reproofing others; and compares them to Eli, with whom God was so displeased for conniving at the wickedness of his sons. He shews the criminality of those clergymen who neglected to fulfil the duties of their charge: and he excuses the severity of his censures, by saying, that the wound which was grown so inveterate, would not admit of a soft and lenient application. He then breaks out afresh, and calls the unfaithful clergy enemies of God, and not priests; inveterate evil doers, and not prelates; traitors, and not successors of the apostles; adversaries of Christ, and not His ministers. After enumerating the awful injunctions of Scripture; setting forth the duties of the pastoral office, with the dreadful end of unfaithful shepherds; he observes, that a priest ought not only to be pure himself, but must warn others in order that he may be free from their blood. He then concludes his address in the following words:

"Intoxicated with habitual and frequent sinning, and tossed about by the raging billows of your own vices, incessantly rolling upon you, seek with all your might to escape safe to the land of the living, *upon that one plank on which alone you can be saved from shipwreck, that of repentance.*" He then prays "that the God of all consolation and mercy, would preserve the few faithful pastors among them; that, after subduing the common enemy, he would make them citizens of the New Jerusalem, the congregation of all the saints."

We may be disposed to blame the warmth and asperity of this old Briton, and the abruptness of his manner: but he lived in turbulent times; and things were getting to a most awful state, as it respected both the leading characters of the age, and the community at large. Lands were given freely to the church, and this might be thought to argue great liberality and respect for religion: but this was not always the cause of those donations, or rather alienations. When the great men had been guilty of any enormities, in order to expiate the offence, and be liberated from ecclesiastical censures, they gave up certain parts of their property as devoted "to God and the church." Whole districts were thus alienated to the church, of which the names are retained in the old Landaff manuscript; so that the Silurian clergy, in the sixth and seventh century, were rendered exceedingly opulent. The consequence was, that wealth begot avarice and sensuality, and the ministers of the sanctuary became earthly-minded.

The warm and honest heart of Gildas was moved within him, to be obliged to witness the depravity of manners which subsisted among both the clergy and laity. There were a few* of a better disposition, as he

* *Ita cuncta veritatis ac justitia moderamina concussa ac subversa sunt, ut earum non dicam vestigium, sed ne monumentum quidem in*

acknowledges ; and he prays the Lord to preserve such excellent characters. His language is in some instances harsh, and approaching to invective ; but if we compare him with St. Jerom, and others of the ancients, some excuse may be made for one in the situation and age of Gildas ; who thought it requisite to use severity, to shame and rouse his countrymen to a deep sense of their situation, and a due regard to their real interests as a Christian people and community.

Giraldus Cambrensis has a testimony* favourable to the credit and veracity of Gildas : for in the preface to one of his treatises he says, that he proposed that old writer for his imitation in preference to any other, because he was the narrator of those events, of which either he had himself ocular demonstration, or was well assured ; setting forth, without attempting a laboured description, the devastation of his country ; so that what he wrote is to be regarded more for its truth than its elegance. He expresses his wish to follow Gildas as his pattern, whom he desired to imitate in life and manners ; to aim at wisdom rather than eloquence ; to indite his subjects with animation and fervour, rather than in a polished style ; and to be like him in life, rather than in expression.

As to Giraldus himself, it would have been well had he, as he professes, always followed the plain and abrupt manner of Gildas, and narrated only such things the authenticity of which he could well substantiate : but his credulity exceeded all due bounds ; while it must be

supradictis propemodum ordinibus appareat ; exceptis paucis, et valde paucis, qui ob amissionem tantæ multitudinis, quæ quotidie prona ruit ad Tartara, tam brevis numerus habentur ; ut eos quodammodo venerabilis mater ecclesia in suo sinu recumbentes non videat, quos solos veros filios habet.

* Giraldus's Testimony of Gildas, p. 289.

acknowledged that his style and manner will bear to be put in competition with the best writers of the middle ages.

We shall now proceed to notice some of the most remarkable incidents that befel the Britons, more especially connected with their ecclesiastical history.

About the year 562, according to Archbishop Ussher, Roderic, king of the Strath Clyde Britons, gave an invitation to Kentigern to return to his native country; and, in consequence thereof, that dignitary returned home, along with those who had borne him company, into the vale of Cluyd, in Wales. Columba was at this time come over from Ireland, preaching the gospel, and planting Christianity among the Picts; of which we shall have to speak towards the conclusion of this work, when we come to investigate the history of Christianity in the north of Britain. These two holy and laborious men are said to have met each other, for the purpose of Christian intercourse, about the year 570.

By the labours of St. Patrick and his associates, in the preceding century, Christianity was established in Ireland; many congregations were collected, and several religious institutions founded, so that by the middle of this century the Irish in general were nominally Christians. But when we advert to the state of the community as to their moral proceedings in both islands, we shall find, that the dismal portraiture of our Gildas gives us too true and just a delineation of that age.

In the days of prince Maelgon, the country was afflicted with that dreadful pestilence called *Y FAD VELEN*, or yellow fever, which proved so very infectious, that it spread with destructive rapidity, and proved fatal to every one that once became subject to its power. The prince of the country, himself, fell a prey to the disorder;

and its progress was so alarming, that Teilio (or *Teliaus*), the Welsh primate, with many of the clergy, and other persons of note, resolved to seek an asylum beyond the seas. They first betook themselves to Cornwall, in order to embark for the continent; and were hospitably entertained by Gerennius, the prince of the Cornish Britons. They were from thence conveyed to Britany, where they met with a kind reception; and continued to abide there, until they received accounts that their country was free from the ravages of the pestilence. *Teliaus* was no sooner apprised of the pleasing intelligence, than he sent to his countrymen, who were dispersed over the land; and, being collected together, they were furnished with vessels to convey them to their native isle, where they arrived after an absence of seven years. They experienced the same treatment from the Cornish on their return, as they had done on their departure for the continent. Gerennius, the prince, was now lying ill, and near death; *Teliaus* administered to him the blessed Eucharist, after which he soon expired.

Teliaus, travelling homeward, came to his episcopal seat at Landaff; and was joyfully received by his clergy and disciples, among whom are mentioned *Luhil* (or *Lliwel*), *Ismael*, *Tyvei*, and *Oudoc*, who afterwards succeeded him in his episcopal dignity. The Landaff manuscript states, that some years after his return he died at his seat; but another account states, that he retired to a favourite spot of his on the banks of the river Towy, where he died: that place is supposed to be *Llandilo vawr*, which was named after him; and from its bearing the epithet of *vawr*, or *great*, is thought to have been once his residence, if not the place of his death. There are many churches, as well as that of Landeilo, in Carmarthenshire, dedicated to the honour of this saint; and the cathedral of Landaff once bore his name.

It was about the year 577 that the Britons and Saxons had a bloody engagement at Derham in Gloucestershire. Three British princes, or reguli, fell in that battle; and their names, according to Henry of Huntingdon, were Conmail, Condidan, and Farinmail. The last was probably no other than Fernvail, a king of Gwent; the other two were Caranmael, mentioned by Llowarch in the elegy on the death of Cynddylan, prince of Powys, who himself was the same with Condidan: for this suggestion we are indebted to Mr. Turner.*

Seven years after this action, in consequence of which the Britons lost the cities of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester, Cealwin, king of the West Saxons, warred with them; and a bloody contest ensued, at Frithern upon the Severn. Cuthwine, the son of Cealwin, was overpowered by the obstinate valour of the Britons, and fell in the conflict, and the Saxons were defeated; but Cealwin, receiving a reinforcement, again attacked the Britons, whom he routed with great slaughter, took from them great spoil, and enlarged his territories. The Britons now seem to have lost all on the Gloucestershire side of the Severn.

Cealwin, while he was thus proceeding from conquering to conquer, met with an enemy in his own nephew Ceolric, who, in alliance with the Cymry, and the Hibernian Scots, fought against him in a battle in which he was defeated and fell: that action was fought at Wodnesbury in Wilts. The predominance which Cealwin had attained among the Saxon kings soon devolved on Ethelbert, the king of the East Angles, who became the head of the Heptarchy. Cealwin appears to have been the last of the Anglo-Saxons that had any powerful struggle with the Britons in the south of England, who retained

* Usher, c. 14. p. 295, 2d. edition. Turner, Vol. I. p. 183.

some independent territories in the interior, until obliged to submit to his arms. He subdued them in Bedfordshire; and took from them Leighton, Ailesbury, Benington, and Ensham.

The battle of Chester was fought between Ethelfrith, after his conquest of Northumberland, and Brochmail, the prince of Powys, in which the latter was overpowered, about A. D. 607, or from that to 612.

Notwithstanding the Saxons were in possession of the central parts, as well as all the eastern coasts of Britain, they aimed at extending their conquests over the Cornish and the Cambrian Britons. The latter, when their borders were attacked, defended themselves with considerable bravery, and triumphed frequently over their potent enemies. Ceolwulph, king of Wessex, advanced upon the Cymry as far as into the Silurian territory. The inhabitants, not able to withstand his force, and yet unwilling to yield up their country, hastened to Tewdric, their aged monarch, who had resigned his government into the hands of his son Meirick, and was retired to lead a solitary life among the rocks and woodlands of Tintern. They solicited him to resume the weapons of war in defence of his country. The royal hermit was roused to renew the feats of his youth, in order to rescue a Christian land from the assault of a heathen ravager. He put on his armour, and headed his troops; who, animated by the example of their aged chief, fought with valour, and succeeded in driving back the invader over the Severn. But the venerable Tewdric received a wound in the moment of victory, which proved to be mortal. Being carried from the scene of battle, the dying chieftain requested that a church might be built upon the spot where he should expire. It was within five miles of the field of battle that he departed

from the world, and there he was interred ; and, agreeably to his desire, was built the church of *Merthyr Tewdric*, or, as it is generally called, *Mathern*. This brave warrior was honoured with the name of martyr, because his death being occasioned by his engaging the Saxons, who were heathens, he is regarded as having died in defence of Christianity.

In the church of Mathern there is a monument erected (probably by Bishop Goodwin) to the honour of this royal martyr, whose grave is said to have been opened by that prelate, and his bones discovered. At this place is the only mansion now remaining that pertains to the bishops of Landaff; but it has not been occupied for a century past. *Mathern*, or rather *Mertheyrn*, implies as much as *The Royal Martyr*, being one of the several places in Wales called Merthyr, where churches have been erected in honour of some holy person, said to have died in defence of religion. The son of Tewdric, Prince Meiric, or Mouric, gave the lands and territory adjacent to Mathern, for the use and benefit of the church. The same prince also gave Mochros upon the banks of the Wye, Porthcasseg, and the church of Guruyd, and afterwards other lands, to make expiation for certain offences. Among these lands, *Treleck*, near Monmouth, was given. Most of these being in subsequent ages lost to the church, were by Bigod, earl of Norfolk, settled upon Tintern Abbey: at the dissolution, in the reign of Henry VIII., they came to the family of the Somersets, earls of Worcester, and dukes of Beaufort. By the conclusion of the sixth century, South Britain, in consequence of the predominance of the Anglo-Saxons, had relapsed into a state of Pagan idolatry; with the exception of those places over which the native Britons still retained possession and authority,

viz. Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland; or where a few of them were intermingled with their conquerors in various parts of England.

The old Britons did not want for the forms of Christianity; for they had regular diocesan bishops, besides the various orders of inferior clergy, sent out in general from the religious houses, with which Wales and Cornwall abounded. The bishoprics of Landaff, Margam, Lanbadarn, St. David's, St. Asaph, and Bangor, with that of St. Cebius, in Anglesea, were now established and endowed. Columba, Kentigern, and Ninian, had evangelized the Northern Britons.

From the account that Gildas gives of all classes, clergy as well as laity, the corruption of manners appears to have become general; and religion seems to have had a very faint influence on the community, as a practical principle, teaching them the great lessons of justice, mercy, and truth. But the British Christians were not yet imbued with all the superstitions which, by this time, had found their way into the churches on the continent.

We have now to turn our attention to the important subject of the evangelization of the English nation; and the instruments by whom it was effected. To this we shall devote the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

The mission of Augustine and his associates. Their reception in Kent from King Ethelbert. The interview between Augustine and the Cambro-British bishops. Slaughter of the monks of Bangor. Death of Augustine and of Ethelbert.

WHEN the dreadful calamities, caused by the wars between the native Britons and the Saxons, began to abate, it might be expected that the national antipathy of the former would have been so far diminished, as to induce them to pity the heathen state of the latter. Some of the clergy, at least, ought to have been possessed of anxious desires for the conversion of their Pagan neighbours. But their contracted views and deep-rooted prejudices could not be removed by the mere forms of Christianity; nor were their minds capable of entertaining sentiments so noble, as to attempt to impart the gospel to a race of aliens, who had violently intruded themselves into their country. We have noticed the description of the British clergy, as drawn by the pen of Gildas. What kind of missionaries could be found among men of so degraded a character, who were loaded with every vice, indolent and sensual, and making a mere trade of the sacred office? Their heathen enemies, now become their countrymen and neighbours, might, for them, perish in their benighted condition.

On the other hand we must admit, if there were a few men of God among the British Christians, who longed

for the salvation of the heathen, the obstacles that stood in their way must have been manifold and great.

But Divine Providence was preparing the way for the christianizing of the Pagan-English, by means of persons from a distant land; persons whose motives did not, indeed, purely respect the salvation of sinners: in their breasts zeal was mingled with worldly ambition, and religion debased with superstition.

We shall here give the account of the circumstances which led to that mission, as narrated by Bede, the historian of that period.

Sometime before Gregory the Great was raised to the papal chair, as he was passing one day through the streets of Rome, he espied some beautiful youths exposed to sale by a slave-merchant. Being struck with their appearance, he made enquiry as to the country from whence they were brought; and was informed that they came from the isle of Britain. Finding, upon further inquiry, that their people were heathens, he exclaimed, after fetching a deep sigh, What a pity that men of so fair a complexion should be subject to the prince of darkness! He then inquired, what was the name given to the people of their country? the reply was, that they were called ANGLI. Upon which Gregory observed that they were rightly called ANGLI, for they were beautiful as ANGELS (*Angeli*); and, therefore, it was fit that they should become the companions of the *angels* in heaven. He inquired further, what they called the province from which they were brought? He was told that its name was *Deira* (a part of the Northumbrian kingdom): to which he answered, that it was called so because they were to be delivered (*De ira Dei*) from the wrath of God, and called to enjoy the mercy of Christ. He also inquired, what the name of the king was: and being told that it was *Ells*; then,

said he, it is fit that *Halleluia* should be sung in that land.

Gregory immediately went to the pope, and begged permission to go to England to convert the people to Christianity; his request was granted: but being in high favour with the people of Rome, the pope, to appease them, was obliged to recall Gregory, though he had proceeded three days on his journey. Gregory, being afterwards elevated to the pontificate, sent Augustine upon that important errand, about the year 597.

The preceding account, as narrated by Bede, and to be found in the Saxon homily of Ælfric, on the birthday of Gregory,* contains some things which appear to have been devised by the successors of Augustine, to enhance the character of his mission by representing Britain in general to be in a heathen state. As it respects the particular wish of Gregory that the gospel should be preached to the Angles of Northumbria, it comes in rather awkwardly; for the first missionaries do not appear to have aimed at the conversion, either of the inhabitants of Deira, or Bernicia. Augustine, himself, never visited that province: and Bede only gives the account of the captive youths as a tradition which prevailed in his time.

The history of the coming over of Augustine and his colleagues states, that when Gregory had been now four years in the pontifical chair, he fixed upon Augustine, and several other monks, to undertake a mission to the Anglo-Saxons of Britain. But the persons thus designated, after setting out on their journey, became greatly discouraged in contemplating the nature of their undertaking. Considering that they were about to encounter the fierce manners of a barbarous and heathen

* See Dr. A. Clarke's *Missionary Address*, London, 1816; p. 17, &c.

people, with whose language they were utterly unacquainted, and to whose manners they were entire strangers, they judged it prudent to proceed no farther. They deputed Augustine to return back to Rome, and represent to Pope Gregory the vast difficulty of what they had engaged in; and to request that they might be permitted to relinquish a design that appeared so arduous, and so pregnant with danger. But Gregory, instead of attending to the remonstrance of the monks, told their deputy that it were far better not to enter upon a good undertaking, than afterwards to abandon it. He encouraged these missionaries with setting before them the great reward that awaited them, if they persevered faithfully in what they had undertaken: exhorting them to confide in the Divine assistance, through which they should be enabled to accomplish the object they had in view.

Augustine being thus roused by the earnest remonstrance, and encouraged by the affectionate address of the pontiff, returned to his company, and inspired them with fresh courage, so that they agreed to proceed towards the scene of their future labours. Being assisted by their brethren in France, they were conveyed over the channel to Kent, and landed in the isle of Thanet. The associates of Augustine, over whom he was constituted abbot, were about forty persons. They had among them interpreters of the nation of the Franks, whose language, therefore, must have borne a resemblance to that of the Saxons in England. By means of these, Augustine dispatched a message to Ethelbert, who was then king of the East Angles, and the most potent monarch in Britain. It was announced to the king that he and his brethren were come over from Rome; and the object of their journey was to impart to him and his people the most important and joyful tidings; so that if

they complied with what he had to lay before them, they would be entitled to everlasting felicity.

The king, in reply, sent orders that these missionaries should abide in the isle of Thanet, and be there supplied with every thing necessary to their support, until they heard of his further pleasure respecting them. Ethelbert was no stranger to Christianity; for his queen Bertha, daughter of Childeric, king of the Franks, was a Christian, and had for her chaplain a bishop of the name of Luidhard; for this princess gave her hand to the king of the East Angles upon the stipulation of her having liberty to retain the exercise of her own religion. It does not appear what endeavours were made by Luidhard to introduce Christianity among the English; but it is probable that he gained some converts, and had some influence with the king, as he had a church in which he celebrated Divine service.

At the expiration of a few days after the king had been waited upon, he came in person to the island; and, taking a seat in the open air, he called for Augustine and his companions, in order to hear what they had to advance. Augustine is described as heading the procession, bearing a silver cross for a banner, and the image of our Lord painted on a frame; while the company chanted certain prayers, as a solemn act of devotion. They then were permitted to open their commission, and to address the king and his attendants on the nature of the Christian religion; and when the discourse was finished, that prince replied to the following effect: "These are fine words and promises which you offer; but because they are new and uncertain, I cannot give my consent to them, and forsake those customs which I and the English nation have so long observed. But inasmuch as you are strangers come from far, and, (as much as I can discern), desire to communicate to us

what you yourselves believe to be true and conducive to our benefit, you shall not be molested, but have suitable provision made for your subsistence: nor do we prohibit you from gaining as many proselytes as you can to your religion." The king kept his word; and assigned the missionaries a residence in the royal city of Dorovernum, or Canterbury.

Divine worship was now celebrated by Augustine according to the forms and ceremonies of devotion which, at that time, were observed in the Catholic church. The missionaries, says Bede, preached the word, lived in great abstemiousness, receiving nothing but the mere necessities of life; and prepared themselves to encounter difficulties, and to lay down their lives, if requisite, for the truth which they preached. They made several converts, who made public profession of Christianity. There was an old church near the city, which had formerly been used by the old British Christians; and there the new converts assembled to celebrate the Christian ordinances. The king, perhaps partly induced by his queen, and partly by seeing the readiness of his subjects, embraced Christianity.

This happy event gave them full liberty to propagate Christianity; and enabled them to repair the old churches, and erect new ones. And now the king was become a Christian, multitudes flocked to be baptized of their own free accord: for although the king, says the historian, took such an interest in the conversion of his subjects, he laid no compulsion on any of them; for he was taught that the service of Christ was to be a voluntary exercise, and not a matter of constraint. The king also delayed no longer to bestow upon Augustine and his friends every mark of honour suited to their several functions; and made the city of Canterbury a metropolitan see.

Such is the account which the venerable Bede gives

of the introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, agreeably to the doctrines then believed and embraced; and the discipline experienced in the church of Rome. Augustine, having met with success so far in his labours, repaired to the city of Arles; and was, in pursuance of the orders of Pope Gregory, ordained archbishop of the English nation, by Etherius, archbishop of that city. Returning to Britain, he sent two persons to Rome, to acquaint Gregory with his proceedings, and to request his advice respecting a variety of particulars; which are all distinctly enumerated by Bede, who gives the answers at large, as made by Gregory. Some of them are too trifling; and some of them not very delicate to be translated. The whole tenour of the pope's answer does plainly evince one thing, that Gregory assumed none of that exorbitant and blasphemous power claimed by his successors.

The first of those queries has respect to the duties of the episcopal office, the proper distribution of the public offerings, and the application of the revenues of the church: as to which the answer states, that *one-fourth* should be applied to the private use of the bishop, and the maintenance of his household; a second share was to go to the support of the clergy; a third, for the relief of the poor; and the remainder was to be used for the repair of churches. The pope says further, "that these missionaries were to follow that course of life which their forefathers did in the infancy of the church, when all things were possessed in common. But if there were any *clerks* (clerici) not received into holy orders, who could not live continently, that they might take wives, and receive their stipends abroad."

With respect to those rites and ceremonies, wherein there existed some difference between the Roman and the Gallican churches, Gregory, in his reply, gives that

liberal advice which it had been well for Augustine always to have followed. He says, "If you have found any thing, either in the *Roman*, or the *Gallican*, or any other church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, see that you carefully make choice of the same; and principally infuse into the English church, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from many churches. *For things are not to be revered for the sake of the places; but places for the sake of good things.* Choose, therefore, from every church, those things that are pious, religious, and upright; and having, as it were, made them up, and collected them into one system, enjoin them upon the English converts."

Gregory gives advice as to the marriage of persons of near kin to each other. He disapproves of the marriage of first cousins, although he admits that it was allowed by the Roman law. With respect to two own brothers marrying two sisters, if they be of a family far removed from each other, he allows it to be lawful. But as to the subject of matrimony in general, Augustine is advised to be tender with respect to the new converts, who were to be solemnly admonished, but not to be excluded from the communion of the church, on account of improper connexions while in their heathen state. "For at this time," says the pontiff, "the holy church chastises some things through zeal; and tolerates some through meekness; and connives at some things through discretion; that so she may often, by bearing and conniving, suppress the evil she is adverse to. But as the offence may, in some measure, be tolerated in those who did it through ignorance; so it is to be strenuously prosecuted in those who do not fear to sin knowingly."

As to his demeanour towards the Gallican and the British bishops, Augustine is told, that if he went over

to Gaul, he could assume no authority over the bishops there, as they were subject to their own metropolitan, the Archbishop of Arles. As to the British bishops, they were committed to his care, that he might inform the ignorant among them, confirm the weak, and correct the refractory, by his authority! Thus it is evident that the pope was then aiming to extend his power; and Augustine received from him instructions to bring the Cambro-British clergy under the Roman yoke.

Augustine intimated in his epistles to Gregory, that the harvest was great, and the labourers few: a fresh number of ecclesiastics were, therefore, sent to his assistance, of whom the most eminent were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. These priests brought with them, says the historian, "all things that were requisite for the worship and service of the church, viz. sacred vessels and vestments for altars; also ornaments for churches, vestments for priests and clerks, as likewise relics of the holy apostles and martyrs; besides many books!"*

Gregory, in his letter to Augustine, styles him Most reverend and holy Brother. He tells him, that "though the rewards of the eternal kingdom are reserved for those who labour for Almighty God, yet it is requisite that we bestow on them those rewards of honour that they may, by a more abundant recompence, be stirred up to proceed in their spiritual labours." He is then informed that he is honoured with the use of the pall worn by metropolitans, for the performance or solemnization of the *mass*. He is ordered to ordain twelve bishops to be under his jurisdiction; and that the bishop

* These books consisted of a beautiful bible, two psalters, two copies of the four gospels, martyrologies, and missals. See Smith's Bede in the Appendix. Townley's Biblical Anecdotes.

of LONDON* should, in after ages, be consecrated by his own *synod*, and receive the honour of the pall from the Holy and Apostolic See. He is also recommended to send a bishop to the city of York; and that if the surrounding country should be disposed to embrace Christianity, that bishop should ordain twelve bishops under his jurisdiction, over whom he was to be metropolitan, yet, subject to Augustine himself, but not to his successors after him. "Let your fraternity," he adds, "have the pre-eminence, not only over those bishops whom you shall ordain, and those whom the bishop of York shall ordain, *but also over all the priests of Britain.*†"

In order to give a further view of the system adopted by these conversioners, we shall here give a translation of Pope Gregory's letter to the Abbot Melitus:

"To his most beloved son, the Abbot *Melitus*, Gregory, the servant of the servants of God. We have been much concerned since the departure of our congregation that is with you; because we have not received any account of the good success of your journey. When, therefore, Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend man, our brother, Bishop Augustine, tell him what, upon the most mature deliberation upon the affairs of the English, I have thought of; that is, that the temples of the idols‡ in that nation ought not to be de-

* Gregory evidently intended LONDON to be the metropolitan see; but Augustine found it requisite to give CANTERBURY that honour, as being the residence of King Ethelbert.

† Augustine does not appear to have given himself any trouble about the North of England; for Paulinus was not bishop of York until A. D. 525; which was long after Augustine's days.

‡ These must have been the idols worshipped by the old Saxons and Jutes, on the continent; for there could be neither Roman idols nor temples existing at this time in Britain. See Mr. Turner in his Anglo-Saxon history.

stroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made, and sprinkled in the said temples; let altars be erected, and relics placed. For if those temples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God; that the nation, not seeing these temples destroyed, may remove error from their hearts; and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the same places where they were wont. And because they were used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifice to devils, some solemnity must be exchanged for them on this account. On the day of the dedication, or the natiivities of the holy martyrs, whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves huts of the boughs of trees, about those churches, which have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting. They are no more to offer up beasts to the devil, but to slay and eat them to the praise of God; and return thanks to the Giver of all good for their satiety: for thus, while they are permitted these gratifications, they will the more readily attend to what leads to inward and spiritual satisfaction. For there is no doubt but that it is impossible to retrench all at once with obdurate minds; because he who would ascend to the highest place rises by degrees, or steps, and not by leaps. These things you are affectionately to communicate to our brother Augustine, that he may consider how he is to order all things." This epistle is dated in the 19th year of the Emperor Maurice.

As the new missionaries were thus directed to accommodate things to the prejudices and passions of the populace, we are not to be surprised that they met with numerous converts, especially as they were befriended by the court: but when king Edelfred died, and his dissolute son succeeded, the religion of these converts of

Augustine, as we shall presently have to notice, soon vanished like a cloud. This doctrine of accommodation has been carried to a great extent in modern times by the Romish missionaries, under the plausible pretext of leading the new proselytes on from step to step. But although great tenderness ought to be shewn, and great prudence used, with respect to persons in an infant state of religion; yet the ministers of Christ should be firm, and, like their Master, teach people the pure truth, without mixture of error; and tell them, that all the true followers of Christ must learn to renounce the world, and take up the cross. Religion must lay its foundation deep in order to be permanent.

Augustine also received a letter from Pope Gregory, in which he is admonished not to be elated on account of the miracles which were wrought by him among the English, lest he should fall by vain glory. He reminds him of the words of Christ to His disciples, where he bids them not so much to rejoice on account of the miracles wrought by them, but rather to rejoice because their names were written in heaven. We shall find, by the subsequent conduct of Augustine, whatever we may think of the miracles attributed to him, that he was a man of a haughty temper and great ambition; and therefore the admonitions of Gregory, most probably, proceeded from intimations which had been made to him relative to the conduct of Augustine.

After Augustine's coming over to England, Ethelfrith, the Northumbrian king, committed great ravages upon the Britons. Of him, Bede says, that no commander, nor king, made more of their lands tributary to the English, having either utterly destroyed or subdued the natives. In him was fulfilled what is said of Benjamin, *In the morning he devoured the prey, and at night he divided the spoil.* Hereupon Eadæ, King of

the Scots inhabiting Britain (to distinguish them from the Scots of Ireland), collected a powerful force to oppose the victorious progress of Ethelfrith, but without effect; for he was completely vanquished, his whole army being cut to pieces at a place called by Bede Dëgsastan, and in the Saxon annals Dægstane; supposed to be Dauston, in Cumberland. But that victory was dearly bought; for Theobald, brother to Ethelfrid, was killed, with almost all the forces he commanded. This war Ethelfrid put an end to in the year 603; or, according to the Saxon annals, 606.* From that time, adds Bede, no king of the Scots durst come into Britain, to make war on the nation of the Angles.

In the year 605 Pope Gregory died. He was a man of eminent talents for the age in which he lived. He was indefatigable both in his studies, and the duties of his office; but with him the papal power was extended beyond what it had ever been before him. His successor, Boniface, declared himself openly, and on his forehead appeared the names of blasphemy, under the tyrant Phocas. Whatever of ambition may have appeared to mingle with the noble actions of Pope Gregory, his name is worthy of veneration, for sending preachers to convert the Saxons in England; and deservedly was he styled The Great. He was the last of the bishops of Rome that can be exempted from upholding the power of Antichrist. I here subjoin his epitaph, as given by Venerable Bede.

Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumptum
 Reddere quod valeas vivificante Deo.
 Spiritus astra petit, lethi nil jura nocebunt,
 Cui vitæ alterius mors magis ipsa via est.

* It was during the progress of this war that the battle of Chester happened, and the monks of Bangor were massacred.

Pontificis summi hoc clauduntur membra sepulchro,
 Qui innumeris semper vivit ubique bonis
 Esuriem dapibus superavit, frigora veste,
 Atque animas monitis textit ab hoste sacris.
 Implebatque actu, quicquid sermone docebat,
 Esset ut exemplum, mystica verba loquens.
 Ad Christum Anglos convertit pietate magistra,
 Acquirens fidei agmina gente nova
 Hic labor, hoc studium, hæc tibi cura, hoc pastor agebas
 Ut Domino offerres plurima lucra gregis.
 Hisque Dei consul factus lætare triumphis;
 Nam mercedem operum jam sine fine tenes.

Thus versified by the translator of Bede, Mr. Stevens, 1723.

Earth, take that body which at first you gave,
 Till God again shall raise it from the grave.
 His soul amidst the stars finds heavenly day,
 In vain the gates of night can make assay
 On him whose death but leads to life the way.
 To this dark tomb the prelate, though decreed,
 Lives through all ages by his pious deed.
 Before his bounteous board pale hunger fled;
 To warm the poor, he fleecy garments spread,
 And to secure their souls from Satan's power,
 He taught by sacred precepts every hour.
 Nor only taught; but first the example led,
 Lived o'er his rules, and acted what he said.
 To the rude Saxons Gospel truth he taught,
 And to the church believing crouds he brought.
 This was thy work and study, this thy care,
 Offerings to thy Redeemer to prepare.
 For these to heavenly honours raised on high
 Thy fame endures; thy meed shall never die.

Augustine, now enjoying the protection of so powerful a monarch as Ethelbert, conceived the ambitious project of subjugating the old British clergy to his me-

tropolitan authority, and so placing the whole island under the jurisdiction of the Roman See. They were accordingly summoned to attend Augustine, to hold a conference with him at a place upon the confines of the Wiccii and the West Saxons. This spot must have been somewhere on the banks of the Severn, either in Worcestershire or Gloucestershire. It received the name, says Bede, of Augustine's Oak; and the spot an eminent divine thinks to be Ossentree, in the parish of Merton, in Worcestershire: but a respectable county historian supposes it to have been at Aust Ferry, generally called The Old Passage.*

Augustine opened this conference with admonishing and intreating the Britons to lay aside those ecclesiastical usages of theirs, that were contrary to the practice of the Romish church, and unite with him and his brethren in preaching the gospel to their neighbours the Saxons. For they did not keep the feast of Easter at its proper time,† says Bede, (but from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon), and did many other things also contrary to the unity of the church. But Augustine could not prevail, either with his entreaties or his threats; they still adhered to their own traditions, which with great tenacity they refused to give up.

Augustine, according to the Saxon historian, had recourse to a miracle to assert his superior claims to orthodoxy, and to induce the Britons to comply with his wishes. A blind man, a Saxon, had his sight restored at the prayers of Augustine; but the poor Welshmen were unable to perform any wonders of that kind: their own eyes were, however, sufficiently open, without a

* See Dr. Hammond, on the Abbot of Bangor's answer to Augustine, and Merrick's History of Cardiganshire.

† As to this controversy, see Bishop Lloyd's Church History, p. 67. and Ussher.

miracle, to discern the pride and arrogance of this Popish legatine. They submitted no farther than this, that they would consult the great body of their brethren, without whom they could engage to do nothing; and they, therefore, proposed that a fuller assembly than the present should be convened. This proposal was agreed to; and, accordingly, at the next conference, seven bishops and many divines were present; and in particular Dinot, the abbot of Bangor, and several of his monks.

The names of the bishops who were present at this Synod, are here given, according to the dioceses supposed to be at that time within the jurisdiction of the Cambrian Metropolitan. Archbishop Parker's words are, Septem Episcopi Britannorum, Herefortensis, Tavensis, Paternensis, Banchorensis, Cluiensis, Uniacensis, ac Morganensis convenerunt. These were, the bishops of Hereford, of Landâv, of Lanbadarn, of Bangor on the Menai, of Lan Elwy or St. Asaph, in the vale of Clwyd, of Vigornia or Worcester, and Margam. Some of these, although having the honorary title of bishops, were rather abbots than prelates; hence the abbot of Bangor ranked so conspicuously among them, as he was in all probability endowed with all the honour of a bishop of that territory, which was part of Powys, of which Chester was then the capital.

The British divines, previous to their entering upon their conference with Augustine, applied themselves to a certain aged anchorite, of great repute for his sanctity; and consulted him whether it would be proper for them to give up their traditions at the persuasion of *Augustine*. "If he be a man of God," said the anchorite, "follow him." "But how," they enquired, "can we be assured of this?" "The Lord hath said," rejoined he, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart: if this *Augustine* be meek and lowly in heart, you may believe, that

as he bears the yoke of Christ himself, he will impose no other upon you : but if he shew himself haughty and proud, that affords you proof that he is not of God, and you are therefore not to give heed to him." " But how," they again asked, " shall we be able to make the distinction?" To this, the holy man replied ; " When you meet him at the place appointed for holding the synod, if he rises up to you on your approaching him, be assured of his being a servant of Christ ; and it behoves you, therefore, to attend to him with deference. If, on the contrary, he treat you with scorn, and rises not up to salute you, seeing you are the greater number, then let him be despised by you." They resolved to act according to this advice. *Augustine*, when they approached him, instead of rising to greet them, kept his seat. When they perceived his pride, they became so angry that they rejected every proposal he made to them. They were told that in many things they acted opposite to the established custom of their church, and the whole Catholic church : but, said he, if ye will but *submit to me* in three things, to observe Easter at the proper time ; to administer baptism *by which we are born again*, agreeably to the rite of the Roman church ; and to join with us to preach the gospel to the English nation ; ye shall be borne with in other respects in which ye differ from us." But they told him they would consent to none of those things, nor would they have him for their archbishop. If, said they, he will not now as much as rise up to us, what can we expect, when we become subject to his authority, but to be set at nought by him. *Augustine*, upon this, told them in a threatening tone, that if they would not be at peace with their brethren, they must expect war from their enemies, and look for the vengeance of the English, towards whose conversion they refused their co-operation.

Even this account, given by Bede, an Anglo-Saxon, furnishes us with sufficient proof of the high and scornful spirit of Augustine. In his address, it is evidently implied, although not expressly stated, that he required the absolute submission of the British clergy to his authority, which they appear very well to have understood; and their answer to him was suitable to what they perceived to be the main purport of the conference on his part. But in our British historians we have a more ample account of this matter than is extant in Bede, who is very sparing, as Stillingfleet justly remarks,* in what concerns the British affairs. But from them we learn, says Leland, that Dinot did at large dispute with great learning and gravity, against receiving the authority of the Pope, or of Augustine. He defended the power of the archbishop of St. David's; affirming it not to be for the British interest to own either the Roman pride, or the Saxon tyranny. He finds fault with *Gregory* for not admonishing the Saxons of their gross usurpations against their solemn oaths; and adds, that it was their duty, if they would be good Christians, to restore the power to those from whom they had so unjustly and tyrannically wrested it: for Dinot, out of his great learning, could not but know that the Pope, under the pretence of bringing in the true faith, could not confirm them in their unjust usurpation; for if that could be admitted, no princes would be safe in their dominions. "And no doubt," says Stillingfleet, "the British bishops looked upon this attempt of Augustine upon them, as adding one usurpation to another: it was this which made them so averse from any communication with the missionaries, which otherwise had been inexcusable."

In a British manuscript, examined by Sir Henry Spel-

* See Stillingfleet's *Origines Brit.* ch. 5. p. 359.

man, we have it related, that the abbot of Bangor, in the name of the British churches, declared, that they owed the subjection of brotherly kindness and charity to the church of God, and to the pope of Rome, and to all Christians: but other obedience than that they did not know to be due to him whom they called pope; and, for their parts, they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who was, under God, their spiritual overseer and director.*

Thus nobly did the Cambro-Britons stand up for the independency of their churches; and refused to submit to the encroachments of the bishop of Rome, and his legate Augustine the monk. But if we can suppose the proposal made to them to join in preaching the gospel to the Saxons, to have been any thing more than a snare to entrap them; it was to be lamented that any ceremonial differences should prevent their engaging in a work of that kind. What encouragement, if any, they had for such an undertaking, before the coming over of Augustine, history does not inform us: but we have already observed that, from the complexion of the times, there is too great reason to infer they were rather backward than ready to enter upon any mission, for the purpose of converting their enemies to the Christian faith.

Augustine now forgot the advice given him by Pope Gregory, that it was not necessary that all churches should exactly use the same external ceremonies; for he was a man of a different spirit from the pontiff, and evinced too much of that temper which has, in subsequent

* The seat of the Welsh primate had been translated to Menevia by St. David, after whose name it went in subsequent times. This, we are told, was not generally agreeable to the Welsh clergy; on which account, as well as from the celebrity of Caerleon in the Roman times, some might still chuse to denominate the primacy after the name of the ancient see of Caerleon.

ages, marked all the proceedings of the Roman pontiffs and their adherents. The time was now come when the saying of that prelate and martyr was fulfilling, who, being asked if it were proper to administer the sacred ordinance in wooden vessels, replied, We once had golden priests, who made use of wooden vessels; but now we have wooden priests, who make use of vessels of gold.

As the British divines peremptorily told Augustine that they would not have him for their archbishop, and complained of the injustice done to them by the Saxons, with whom they wished to have no intercourse until they restored to the native Britons what they had gained by unjust usurpation; the haughty prelate related all this to Ethelbert his patron and defender.* The king was not unwilling to see the Cambro-Britons chastised: he, therefore, instigated Ethelfrith, the king of Northumberland, to march an army into the territory of Brochmael, prince of Powys, within whose dominion the synod had been held.

The furious king was advancing towards the Dee; and the monks of Bangor, intimidated by the approach of such an army, headed by a Pagan, remembering the threats of Augustine, fled to prince Brochmael for refuge, his troops being collected together at Chester. But the army of the Northumbrian king was composed of so vast a number of men, that Brochmael was soon routed; and the poor ecclesiastics were left in a defenceless state. The king seeing a number of persons of a singular appearance, and without arms, enquired who they were, and then unmercifully ordered his men to fall upon them; for being given to understand that they were engaged in praying for the success of their coun-

* See Brut y Brenhinoedd.—The British History.

trymen, the monarch said, "If they cry to their God against us, they then fight against us with their prayers." Of these defenceless men, it is said there were twelve hundred, all of whom, except about fifty, were consigned to slaughter.*

The consequence of the battle of Chester was, that the monastery of BANGOR ISCOED fell into the hands of the conqueror, and felt all the effects of his rage. That noble institution never after raised its head. This was the largest of all the Bangors, or religious houses, among the Britons; but even the very ruins cannot now be traced. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that, in his day, the vast pile of ruins then to be seen bore testimony to the ancient fame and extent of this monastery.† But we have now only the name of this once celebrated place, which is said to have contained accommodations for seven courses of monks, containing three hundred in each course.

The name of its founder was Dunod, or Dinoth, the son of Pabo, an unfortunate prince, who spent his last days in the isle of Mona; and his sons Dunod and Daniel became men of celebrity among the Welsh ecclesiastics; the former being the founder of Bangor iscoed, in the lordship of Maelor on the Dee; while the other was founder of Bangor on the Menai, under the auspices of Prince Malgon. If Dinoth were indeed abbot at the time of the famous synod we have been

* It is hardly probable that the numbers were so great. The Saxon annals mention only 200.

† Leland says, "The cumpace of the abbay was a wallid toune; and yet remaineth (in Henry VIIIth's reign) the name of a gate caullid "*Porth Hogan* by north; and the name of another, "*Porth Clais* by south.—*Dee* syns changing the bottom rennith now thorough the "mydle, betwyxt thes two gates; one being amile dim from the other." Itinerary. Turner, Vol. I. 135.

speaking of, he must have been extremely old: but it is possible, through mistake, that the name of the founder may have been given to him who presided at that time.

There has been some dispute among our learned antiquaries, as to the time of Augustine's death; which, according to Bede, is said to have taken place previously to the slaughter of the monks: but the passage, as it stands in the Latin copies of that writer, is maintained to be an interpolation by Archbishop Parker, Bishop Goodwin, and Dr. Hammond, men of the first eminence. I shall here transcribe what Bishop Goodwin has said:

“ Well I know that divers affirm Austin died the year 603; whereas this war was made two years after that time. And Bede, as we now have him, seemeth to confirm the same. For talking of the foresaid slaughter, and how it was foretold by Augustine, he addeth, *Quamvis ipso (Augustino) jam multo ante tempore ad celestia regna translato*; as though long before that war Augustine had died. Howbeit it appeareth manifestly, that those words are fraudulently thrust in. For the old Saxon copies, whereof divers are to be seen, have no such thing. Again it appeareth that Augustine was alive, and confirmed a charter made to King Ethelbert, in the year 605; which was two years after the war. And divers do witness that he died after that; some, the year 611, and others, namely, Matthew Westminster, the year 608; whereas most of our histories affirm that the said war was made with the Britons, the year 603.”*

Dr. Hammond, in writing expressly on the subject of the intercourse between Augustine and the abbot of Bangor, has fully cleared up this subject; and shewn to satisfaction that Augustine was not dead at the time of

* Goodwin on the conversion of Britain, prefixed to his “ Successions of the Bishops.”

the battle of Bangor.* Some old writers have even asserted that he was present at the battle; but, be that as it may, the whole circumstances of the history shew that Ethelbert, excited by him, urged the Northumbrian Ethelfrith to bring an army against the Britons of Wales; and from so powerful an enemy, and a fierce heathen, no compassion could be expected.

As to the good done in converting the English, we shall find presently that others were engaged in this work, and were more laborious than Augustine and his companions.

Augustine died at Canterbury, and was buried at the entrance of the church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, with the following inscription on his tomb:

"Hic requiescit Dominus Augustinus, Dorovernensis Archiepiscopus primus; qui olim a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Æthelbertum regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit: et completis in pace diebus officii sui, defunctus est, septimo Kalendas Junias, eodem rege regnante."

The Welsh princes, roused at the devastation committed by Ethelfrith, combined their forces, and routed him with great slaughter, so that he did not long remain without chastisement for his ambition and cruelty.

Augustine was succeeded by Laurentius, whom he had designated, while he was yet living, as his successor. This holy man used milder methods than Augustine; but, while he was proceeding in his labours, King Ethelbert died; and his people relapsed again into their old heathen state, Edbald, his son and successor, being a vile and wicked prince. Mellitus and Justus

* See the Bishop of St. David's second letter to the clergy of his diocese.

were banished; and the bishop, himself, was going to quit the kingdom, only that, being admonished in a vision, he resolved to stay with his flock. The young prince, hearing of this, began to shew a better disposition; he recalled Mellitus and Justus, and became a friend and promoter of the Christian religion. Laurentius succeeded to the primacy, A.D. 611; and, worn out with vexation, he lived not to enjoy the consolation arising from the change which was taking place in the king's disposition; for that very year he died. He was succeeded by Mellitus, A.D. 621.

CHAPTER XII.

Further proceedings of the disciples of Augustine, in Kent. The Cambrian churches. Paulinus preaches to the Northumbrians; and is made bishop of York. King Edwin embraces Christianity.

THE accommodating system which Pope Gregory recommended for promoting the Christian Faith among the English Saxons was attended with tolerable success; especially while it received protection from the court. But when Augustine himself was dead; and when, in a few years after that event, King Ethelbert ceased to live and reign, it appeared that the true religion either had not taken very deep root among the new converts, or else that it had not generally spread even among the inhabitants of Kent and Essex; for Augustine made no attempts to promote Christianity in the northern districts of the country. Mellitus, being sanctioned by Seberht, who reigned over the East Saxons or people of Essex, and was nephew to Ethelbert, preached without molestation, and made converts. King Ethelbert, to whom his nephew was subject, was willing to honour Mellitus as the new bishop of London; and, therefore, erected him a church dedicated to St. Paul, designed to be the seat of the episcopacy for him and his successors. We have observed before, that London had been proposed by Pope Gregory for the metropolitan seat: but whether by the choice of Augustine, or of Ethelbert,

Canterbury, the royal residence, was to receive that honour. This choice has been singularly confirmed in all subsequent ages; and while the capital contains the metropolitan church, the name of Canterbury is attached to the primacy.

As Paganism revived in Kent, at the death of the king; so the people of Essex also returned to idolatry. Mellitus was obliged to give up his charge; and he, along with Justus, who was bishop of Rochester, left Britain. Laurentius, who succeeded Augustine, as archbishop, we have just before noticed was about to take his departure, when he was prevented by Eadbert, the king, becoming more favourably disposed to the cause of Christianity; in consequence of which Mellitus and Justus were recalled.

At the death of Laurentius, Mellitus was called to the primacy, and held that honourable station for five years; when he left the world, and was succeeded by Justus, in the year 624.

The people of Essex and Middlesex, having relapsed into idolatry, continued obstinate in their hostility to the Christian cause. The remonstrance of the king of Kent could not prevail with the young princes of the East Saxons; and even after the fall of the two princes in a battle, in which they had been defeated by the West Saxons, their fierce subjects still determined to oppose the readmission of Christianity; and persevered inveterate in their resolution for many years, of which we shall take occasion to speak hereafter.

It was not until after the year 624, that Christianity was introduced into the northern counties by means of Paulinus, who was ordained bishop of York, in the year 626. But before we proceed with the history of his proceedings, we shall take a survey of the state of affairs among the Cambrian Britons.

The massacre of the monks of Bangor, and the state of warfare and animosity which succeeded, had no favourable tendency upon the minds of the Cambrian clergy. They continued resolutely to maintain the independence of their church and their country, although exposed to the most powerful hostilities from the kings of the English Saxons. The latter days of Augustine were coeval with the tyrant Phocas, under whose reign Boniface, pope of Rome, was proclaimed universal bishop, or head of the whole Christian church. The triumph of superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny may be dated from that period, although the mystery of iniquity had long since begun to work. The remnant of the old Britons, as well as the Irish and Scottish Christians, were fixed in their determination not to be subjugated by *any foreign prince, power, or prelate*; and to maintain a simplicity in religion, the reverse of which prevailed among the adherents of Rome. That these, our ancestors, were not free from various superstitions, we have before admitted; and referred to documents that give incontestible proofs of it: such are the extracts from the Landaff manuscript, adduced by Ussher and others; several notices of those early ages in the Triads; and the monumental crosses at Lantwit, in Glamorganshire. The latter must have been set up as early as A. D. 500; but, allowing that before the age of Augustine the British church was not entirely free from the superstitions of Rome, it was noble and great to resist so undauntedly *the tyrannical power of ROME*.

In the poems of Taliesin we meet with shreds and patches of Christianity mingled with a certain cabbalism, arising from the reliques of Druid lore: but either that Bard, or more probably one who wrote after the coming over of the missionaries from Rome, has left some rude stanzas containing severe reprehensions of a false and

defective religion, upholding avarice and oppression, and destitute of mercy and justice.*

The laziness of the monks, and the dissoluteness of the people, are severely lashed by the Bard. Imprecations are denounced against sensuality, falsehood, and treachery; and against him that gains wealth by injustice; who is unfeeling to the poor, and distributes none of his possessions to the relief of the indigent, shutting his door against the pilgrim, and neglecting to assist the captive and the afflicted. The Bard writes as one who understood that religion does not consist in mere external forms, but in justice, and mercy, and the love of God.

Among our ancient fragments we have some pieces ascribed to the sage Cattocus, the first president, or abbot, of the religious institution, at Lancarvan. Many of the saints, or monks, of those ages, were Bards; and had a great taste, according to the manner of the Cambro-Britons, for sententious sayings, pious or sage adages, and proverbial maxims. Many of these are beautifully

* The following lines are worthy of notice:

Gwae offeiriad byd	Ni's arcilia
Ni angreiftia gwyd	Ni ddifer ei ddefaid
Ni phregetha	Rhag bleiddiau Rhuveiniaid
Ni warcheidw ei gail	A'u fon glopa.
Ac ev yn fugail	

Woe to the worldly priest	Nor pays attention to them;
Who rebukes not vice;	Nor guards his sheep
And neglects his ministry:	From the Romish wolves,
Nor regards his flock,	With his pastoral staff.
Though he be a pastor;	

The whole of the poem is much of the same tendency with the declamatory invectives of Gildas, who paints the manners of his age in the blackest colours; and charges even the clergy with every foul vice.

concise; containing fine morality, good sense, and depth of thinking. This saint was so highly famed for his wisdom and promptitude, as the author of those proverbial sentences, that his fame became oracular; and his repute so high, that considerable collections of ethical maxims pass under his name; a small part of which only were his in reality.

In the age of Augustine our ancestors were not, therefore, deficient of names highly revered among their departed saints; nor of persons, most probably then living, who had wit enough to ridicule the high pretensions, and pompous arrogance, of Augustine, the monk. Laurentius, the successor of that prelate, endeavoured, by expostulatory epistles, to gain over the Britons and the Scots to conform to all the ceremonies, and submit to the authority of Rome; but without success. Laurentius complains that the Scots were equally obstinate with the Britons of Wales, in opposing "the customs of the universal church." The bishop says, "We thought the Scots had been better: but we have been informed that the Scots no way differ from the Britons in their behaviour; for Bishop *Dagan* coming to us, not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house where we were entertained."

In this state of things the successors of Augustine could receive no assistance or co-operation from the old British Christians, towards the conversion of the Pagan English; and there were other causes that retarded so desirable an event, arising from the continual state of warfare among the different princes of the island.

Christianity was first established in Yorkshire, and the northern counties, during the reign of Edwin: and Paulinus was the person by whose means the Saxons of that part of the country renounced idolatry. But before we enter upon the particulars connected with that event,

we shall pay some attention to the history of Edwin; and his wars with Caswallon, the king of North Wales.

Upon the death of Ella, the father of Edwin, the ambition of Edelfrith, the Northumbrian, led him to seize the dominion of the infant prince of Deira, who was conveyed into Wales, where he met with a hospitable retreat in the court of Cadvan, the king of that country. He was brought up with Caswallon, the king's son, until either being obliged to remove, or thinking it unsafe to continue there, he became a destitute wanderer; and under such circumstances he implored the hospitality of Redwald, king of the East Angles. There he was pursued by his restless enemy, who proposed a great reward to his protector for procuring his assassination. The matter was made known to Edwin by a faithful friend, by whom he was advised to make a precipitate flight: but he relied on the king's honour; and thought it better, should he be deceived, rather to fall a victim to treachery, than continue to live a friendless fugitive. The queen befriended him; and urged upon the king to preserve his faith inviolate, and never to consent to betray his distressed friend for gold.

The refusal of Redwald, to comply with the infamous proposal of the ambitious monarch of Northumberland, was considered as an insult to the latter. Preparations were now made for war; and the two kings met in battle on the banks of the river Idel, in Nottinghamshire. A division of the troops of Redwald were at first defeated; and he lost his son in the first engagement: but, renewing the action with a fresh division of his troops, he sustained the furious assault of Edelfrith with such intrepid valour, that the impetuosity of the monarch, long accustomed to conquer, only hastened his ruin. Success appeared on Redwald's side; and Divine Providence favoured the cause of Edwin: the slaughterer of the

monks of Bangor, the usurper of Deira, fell. Edwin was not only restored to his paternal territories; but, with the assistance of Redwald, Bernicia was subjected to his sway. Redwald now gained the pre-eminence among the Saxon princes; and that station, upon his death, was assumed by Edwin.

North Wales had been subjected and made tributary to Edelfrith: and Edwin was ambitious to maintain the same ascendancy over Cadwallon, the son, that his predecessor had over the father. But Cadwallon was for retaining the title of king of the Britons; and, instead of owning any subjection, regarded Edwin as a Saxon, not entitled to assume regal honours.* Cadwallon marched his forces to the North of England, and resolved to chastise the ambition of Edwin. He laid Deira waste; and pursued his desolating progress into Bernicia, or the country beyond the *Tees*: but in the neighbourhood of Morpeth his progress was arrested, and the troops of Edwin proved victorious. Cadwallon, according to the British history, being overpowered, fled into Ireland, where he continued in a state of exile for seven years; while Edwin held his territories in subjection. A. D. 620.

Cadwallon is the prince whom Bede calls Ceadwalla; and complains of the terrible devastations he committed, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition; while at the same time he bore the name of a Christian prince! But what were some of the Saxon kings even after their profession of Christianity? A state of warfare is inimical to religion; it is irreconcilable with the pure Gospel of Christ. It can, at any rate, be considered only as a dire expedient in cases of extremity; when princes and subjects become insensible to the voice of humanity, the

* British History by Griffith ap Arthur.

claims of justice, and the benevolent tendency of the Gospel.

The reception of Christianity by Edwin and his subjects, originated with the influence of his queen, the daughter of King Ethelbert and the virtuous Bertha; for the lady gave him her hand on the express stipulation that she and her attendants might be permitted the free exercise of their religion, with a promise that the king would himself take the subject into his serious consideration. *Paulinus*, one of the missionaries sent over by Pope Gregory, accompanied the princess; and he exerted himself in recommending Christianity to the people of that nation, but for some time with little success.

The queen being delivered safely of a daughter, and the king narrowly escaping the dagger of the assassin, Paulinus made a proper use of these circumstances to promote the cause of Christianity. The king consented to have his infant daughter baptized, along with twelve persons of the royal household: he also promised Paulinus that if he returned safe and victorious from the war in which he was going to engage against the perfidious monarch of Wessex, (who had commissioned the assassin to dispatch his life,) he would renounce his idols, and embrace the religion of Christ. Returning home victorious, after humbling his enemy, he did not forget his promise, so far as to renounce idolatry himself; but he still hesitated as to the public profession of Christianity. He required every information on the important subject, and submitted to the instructions of Paulinus. He then conferred with his courtiers, and persons of consideration, in order to learn their sentiments; and afterwards revolved the whole over in his mind, deliberating how he should proceed, and what course it would be best to adopt.

Edwin must have known something of the nature of Christianity, when in his youth he was the guest of Cadvan, in North Wales; but he had probably troubled himself little on the subject. There was something humiliating in the thought of renouncing the customs and superstitions of his ancestors: and if he considered Christianity in its leading doctrines and principles, he could not fail perceiving in it those traits that were calculated to suppress ambition, and to promote peace and humility; pouring contempt on earthly greatness, and the fading boast and glory of princes and warriors.

The pope addressed a long letter to King Edwin, in which the vanity of idols and the excellence of the Christian religion are set forth. He is earnestly entreated to embrace the Gospel, and to give it his public sanction, by submitting to the ordinance of baptism. "Draw near," he says, "to the knowledge of Him that created you; who breathed the spirit of life into you; who sent His only begotten Son for your redemption, to cleanse you from original sin; that, being rescued from the power of the devil, you may receive heavenly rewards. Hear the words of the preachers, and the Gospel of God, which they declare unto you —." At the same time another letter came, addressed to the queen, exhorting her to be indefatigable in endeavouring to bring about the conversion of her royal spouse.

The historian, venerable Bede, gives us a curious account of the consultation which the king held with his friends and counsellors, "to the end, that if they agreed to his proposal they might together, with him, be dedicated to Christ, in the font of life;" that is, in the water of baptism.* The Pagan high-priest, of the name of *Coifi*, expressed his opinion very freely; the more so,

* Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. II. c. 13.

probably, because he knew the king's mind. He said no man could be more devoted to the worship of the gods than he was; and yet he was not sensible of his being the better for it; for many enjoyed more wealth and honour than he did. He thought that if the worship of the gods had been capable of doing them any service, he ought to have received some proof of it: he, therefore, gave it as his judgment, that if the new religion held forth greater advantages, it ought, after due examination, to be generally adopted. It is easy to infer that the old priest was not very anxious about spiritual blessings; and that with him, "gain was godliness." Some brethren of his may perhaps yet be found, even in the present enlightened age. Christianity was, indeed, made a gainful trade by some in that day; and in after ages still more so, in Britain as well as in other countries: but the grand design of Christianity is to open our prospects into futurity, rather than to advance our interests in the present world. The speech of this old man was followed by that of a Thane, or Ealdorman, who displayed more of a contemplative mind. "His speech," as Mr. Turner observes, "as coming from an illiterate Saxon witan, in that rude age, and with no other knowledge than such as his barbarous idolatry afforded, is peculiarly interesting."* He spoke as follows:—

"The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to a sparrow swiftly flying through the room, well warmed with the fire made in the midst of it, wherein you sit at supper in the winter, with your generals and attendants, while the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the bird flying in at one door, and immediately out at another. Whilst he is within, he is not affected with

* Anglo-Saxon History, Vol. II. p. 439, in quarto.

the winter storm; but as soon as this short season of serenity is elapsed, he is again exposed to the tempest, and we see him no more. So, this life of man appears for a short space; but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If this new doctrine contain something that holds out to us more certain information as to futurity, it is worthy to be followed by us."

Poor and cheerless, truly, is the prospect of an hereafter to man, without a Divine revelation:—that we shall at all exist after the dissolution of the body, there can be no certainty; and even to those who believe in an hereafter, "the vast, the unbounded prospect lies before them; but shadows, clouds, and darkness, rest upon it." The voice of the Divinity has intimated eternity to man in an enlightened few: but it is the Gospel alone that gives us generally an assurance of our immortality; and no other system can shew us how we may attain to an immortality of bliss.

When others, in the assembly, or *witanagemot*, had spoken, Coifi expressed his willingness to hear Paulinus discourse on the religion which he wished to propagate among them. Paulinus, being called in by the king's order, addressed them; and when he had concluded, the high-priest, like one who had received sudden illumination, exclaimed, "I have long since been sensible that the objects of our worship were a mere nothing, because the more diligently I investigated the nature of that worship, the less able was I to discover any truth and reality pertaining to it. But now I freely profess that truth appears to me with bright lustre, in what has been set forth unto us; unfolding to us the gifts of life, of salvation, and eternal felicity. For which reason," he added, "I advise, O king, that the temples and altars which we hitherto have venerated without deriving any

utility from them, be instantly desecrated, and consigned to the flames." The king then enquired of the high-priest, who was the properest person to begin the work? *Coifi* replied, "Who can more properly than myself destroy those things which I worshipped through ignorance, that I may be an example to others of better information now afforded me by the true God." He solicited the king to give him arms and a horse, neither of which was it deemed lawful for a priest to use.* He girded on a sword; he then seized a lance, and rode on horseback to the temple. The multitude were ready to pronounce him frantic; but he threw the lance into the temple, and thereby profaned it, upon which his followers were ordered to demolish it.

The scene of this extraordinary transaction was, according to Bede, not far from the city of York, to the eastward of the river *Derwent*; and is called *Godmund-ingham*. The name is still retained in *Godmanham*, which imports as much as a receptacle for the gods; and near it is a place called *Wigton*, that is, a place of idols.

King Edwin and his nobles now made public profession of Christianity, by being baptized along with many of the common people; and thus was the religion of Christ, or the GOSPEL,† as they termed it, restored in those regions, from which it had been so many years expelled by the Pagan Saxons. YORK was made once more the seat of a bishop, Paulinus being honoured

* Thus it appears that according to the views of the ancient Germans, as well as our Druids, it was deemed unlawful for the priests to have any concern with what pertained to war. And is not Christianity a religion of peace?

† The word GOSPEL is confessedly of Saxon origin. The Cambro-Britons use the Greek word itself, with a slight accommodation, *EVENGYL*; and the French say *EVANGILE*.

with that dignity. This was six years before the death of King Edwin.

The labours of Paulinus were not confined to *Deira*, or Yorkshire, but they extended to the other side of the *Tees*, into Northumberland; and we are told, in particular, that he made many converts in the neighbourhood of MELFIELD,* which was the royal residence, and then called ADGEBRIN. There he staid for several weeks at a time, taken up with the employment of catechizing and baptizing; during which days, says the historian, he was engaged in instructing the people who resorted to him from all the surrounding country, from morning to night.

When in Yorkshire, he seems to have spent much of his time near to *Catterick-bridge*, anciently called CATARACTON. He baptized many in the river Swale, which runs by there. But particular mention is made of his erecting a church in the plain of *Don*, which Camden supposed to be at *Almondbury*; originally he thinks called *Albanbury*, in honour of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Roman-Britain. There King Edwin had a country residence, which was destroyed in the subsequent war between him and Penda, the Mercian king. The kings of that nation afterwards built themselves a palace in the country of *Loidis*, or that region in which the town of LEEDS now stands.

We must here notice that there is an ancient tradition of Paulinus's preaching at DEWSBURY, or DEÛSBURY; and Camden mentions an ancient cross with the following inscription:

PAULINUS HIC PRÆDICAVIT ET CELEBRAVIT.

In consequence of that tradition, a neat cross, recently

* The name of Melved occurs in the elegy of Llowarch, on the death of Cadwallon.

erected, appears over the south entrance of the present parish church.

Through the interference of Edwin with *Eorpwald* king of the East Angles, and son of *Redwald*, the Christian Faith was once more admitted into that province. *Redwald* had, at one time, espoused Christianity; but, through the persuasion of his wife, he was seduced to apostatise from his profession; or at least to set up a kind of Samaritan worship: for in the same temple there were set up two different altars, the one an idol altar, and the other an altar for the Christian worship.* *Eorpwald*, his son, was more cordial and consistent in his profession; but after his days the people of his dominion relapsed again into idolatry for three years: but on the accession of *Sigbert*, who had lived as an exile in France, Christianity was once more established.

Paulinus extended his ministerial labours to the south of the Humber, and planted Christianity in Lincolnshire: *Bede* also states, that an aged priest had told him that he received information of *Paulinus* preaching at a place in Nottinghamshire, by the side of the river Trent, near an ancient city, which is supposed to have stood on the site of *Southwell*, in that county. The person referred to described *Paulinus* as being of tall stature, but a little stooping; his hair black, his visage meagre, his nose slender and hooked, his aspect both venerable and awful.

Paulinus remained in the dominions of Edwin until the death of that prince; and he then removed into Kent, where he presided over the see of Rochester from the year 633 to that of 634.

In the character of Edwin, as a monarch and as a

* Many would be pleased with such liberality; but the true Christians were reckoned very unsociable and bigoted, in not permitting the heathen idols to have some share in their devotions.

man, there were many excellent traits. He gained the esteem of his subjects by the wise regulations which he adopted. The internal police that prevailed in his dominions was so vigilant, that it became an aphorism to say, that a woman with her new-born infant might walk from sea to sea without fear of insult. For the accommodation of travellers, he caused brazen dishes to be chained to stakes by the side of those springs of water that were contiguous to the public roads. Such was the general affection for the virtues of the king, or the dread of his justice, that no one made an improper use of these vessels. After a prosperous reign of seventeen years, his last days were beclouded, and he died violently.

We have noticed before, the war between Edwin and the king of North Wales; and that the latter fled into Ireland, where he was obliged to abide for the space of seven years. Cadwallon, during his state of exile and humiliation, was concerting measures for the overthrow of Edwin, who had annexed the island of Anglesea (the ancient *Mona*), with part of North Wales, to his dominions. Penda, the king of Mercia, or the midland Saxons, entered into an alliance with the Welsh prince; and the two kings met Edwin in Hatfield Chace, where, in a desperate battle, his life and reign were terminated on the twelfth of October 633, in the forty-eighth year of his age. One of his children, and most of his army, perished.

Penda was a Pagan, and exercised great cruelties on the inhabitants of Northumbria. Edwin's queen fled, under the protection of Paulinus, to Kent, the land of her nativity; while Cadwallon, full of rage against the Angles, urged on the war, and ravaged the country for a whole year. He now might cherish the hope that the Cymry should yet regain the sovereignty of Britain by

a complete subjugation of the Angles and Saxons, but his victories were soon to come to an end. After fighting "fourteen great battles and sixty skirmishes,"* Cadwallon and the flower of his army fell in a terrible battle fought with young Oswald, the brother and successor of Eanfrid.

Cadwallon was brave, but vindictive : and being so intimately connected with the Pagan king of Mercia, he shared in all the cruel proceedings of the latter ; or, at least, was involved in the same disgrace. The ambitious and ungenerous conduct of Edwin, towards the friend and benefactor of his youth, furnished him with an excuse for that severe retaliation, which in those ages was considered justifiable in the victorious party.

This prince was the last of the Welsh who combated the Saxons with any success ; and his son Cadwalader resigned all title to the sovereignty of Britain, so that he is considered the last who bore the empty title of king of the Britons.

The aged Llowarch lived to survive Cadwallon, who appears to have been a generous patron of the Bards. In his elegy composed by Llowarch, mention is made of various battles in which he was engaged. He is stiled "The lion of conflict," and "The enthraller of Loegyr." But in that poem there is no particular mention of his having fallen on the field of battle. It concludes with the following stanzas :

Lluest Cadwallawn ar Veinin,
Llew lluosawg ei werin
Twrw mawr trachas i orddin.

* Cadwallawn

pedair priv-gad ar ddeg
Am briv-deg Prydain, a thri ugain cyfarvod.

Llowarch,

O gysul-estrawa, ac anghyviawna venach
 Dillydd dyvwr o fynaw
 Trig trym-ddydd am Gadwallawn.

Gwisgwys coed cain dudedd haf;
 Dybryaid gwyth wrth dynged—
 Cyvarwyddom ni am Elved.

Translation.

The host of Cadwallon encamped on Meimin,
 The lion with the numerous retinue,
 The violent storm furious against the borders.

From the alien conspiracy and the unjust monks,
 As water flows from the fountain
 Long shall our moaning last for Cadwallon.

The trees are now covered with their summer foliage;
 Let the fatal rage (of battle) impel us
 To direct our steps to the plain of Elved.*

From comparing the Saxon and the Welsh accounts, the latter appears erroneous in assigning the year 646 as the date of Caswallon's death. Llywarch had lived some time, when young, in the court of Arthur: and he survived his patron Caswallon. The Bard was proverbial for his extreme old age: but we are not so easily induced to think that he lived one entire century, and the half of another. Instead, therefore, of 646, we may say 636 was more probably the time of Cadwallon's death.

In the elegy of Llywarch, on the death of that prince, there is allusion made to no less than fifteen different scenes of conflict in various parts of Wales; from which it would appear, that the Saxons frequently made irruptions into that country. *Edwin* is, in one place, called *Mwg mawr drevydd*, or The Conflagrator of Towns.

* Melved in some copies; and this was the same, in all probability, as Melfleet, the seat of the Bernician kings, near Morpeth.

CHAPTER XIII.

The introduction of Christianity among the Picts by Ninian and Columba, with a biographical sketch of the latter.

WE have now to pay some attention to the account given us of the introduction of the Christian religion into North Britain; including, in modern times, all that portion of the island to the northward of the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. The south of Scotland, as far as the Clyde and the Forth, was at one time included between the great Roman walls, of which we have already had occasion to speak. The name of *Scot* is supposed to have originated with the clans that came over from Ireland; while that of *Pict* seems to have designated the old northern Britons, who were not subjugated to the Romans. The Scots who came over to Britain, are by the old Welsh denominated *Gwyddel*, the common appellation of the natives of Ireland: and those whom our ecclesiastical writers term *Picts*, are called by the Welsh *Gwyr yr Albaen*, or the men of Albany; and their country, *Iscoed y Celyddon*, or Scotia of the Caledonians. But this does not refer to the country on this side the Firths, called by the Romans Valentia, and the inhabitants *Ottadini*, *Gadeni*, *Selgovæ*, *Novantes*, and *Damnii*; and sometimes by one general name of *Meatæ*. It was this division of country that Taliesin, and the other Bards of that age, call *Prydyn*, and the people *gwyr Prydyn*. It is here that we are to look for the

habitations of *Llowarch*, *Urien*, *Caw* the father of *Gildas*, *Aneurin* the most celebrated of our ancient Bards, and other names of the period that elapsed from the coming over of the Saxons, until the middle of the seventh century. What part of that country we are to include within the limits of the *Regnum Cumbrense*, or *Strath-Clyde*, cannot be so easily determined.

Bede considers that the Britons and Picts were the native occupiers of the island; and then the Scots came over, and formed the third nation. The Picts were the people who inhabited the proper Caledonia, at the time of which we are going to speak; but in after ages the Scots seem to have occupied the western and the Picts the eastern coast. The mountains of *Drum-Alban*, or the Grampian Hills, divided the Scots from the North Picts; and the Lomond hills, from the South Picts. To the south they were bounded by the Frith of Clyde, and on the west they had the Irish sea.

About the year 750 the Saxons completed their conquest of the western Lowlands; but the Scots availing themselves of the distressed state of the Picts, in consequence of the invasion of the Danes, made themselves masters of the Pictish dominions, about the year 800, in the time of Keneth Mac-Alpin. Thus the Scottish name, along with the power of that people, generally prevailed through all Albany; that is, the country to the north of the Forth and the Clyde.

It appears, thus, from a review of the ancient history of North Britain, that the name by which people of the country beyond the two great rivers was known, upon the decline of the Roman power, was that of Picts; and, before the time of Bede, they were divided into the Northern and Southern Picts. Whether those called Picts came originally from the Baltic, or were only descended from the South Britons, who, by various circumstances,

were impelled northward, I shall not here dispute; leaving what has been said in another place, on the primary population of the island, to suffice. I may, however, observe, that the name of *Picti* may have been given in contempt, by the Roman Britons, to those who still continued to live after the rude custom of all the natives, before they became a civilized people. The name of *Brithwyr*, among the ancient Welsh, is much of the same origin; and was given to plunderers and marauders.

We have before spoken of Christianity being established among the Strath-Clyde Britons, by the preaching of Kentigern, known afterwards by the name of St. *Mungo*, or *Mwyngu*: but our present inquiry relates to the country further to the north.

At what period, then, can it be affirmed, with any probability, that the gospel was introduced into that part of the island? Here some will find a ready answer to the inquiry, by referring us to that passage in Tertullian, from which it has been inferred, that the gospel was introduced among the Caledonians as early as the time in which that father lived. The passage which we refer to states, that those places in Britain which were impenetrable to the Roman arms, had submitted to the power of Christ. But admitting that, by some peculiar providence, the Gospel had been conveyed into the wilds of Caledonia, thus early, yet we have no historical relation of such an event. That a Christian church may have been formed in the second or third century, in some part of the country, between the two great walls, is not improbable. It is still more probable, that some of the Roman-British Christians, in order to escape the effects of the Dioclesian persecution, may have carried with them the knowledge of Christ to those parts of the island northward, beyond the verge of the Roman dominion.

But all this is only hypothetical; and where a point like this is so open to disputation, that alone is sufficient to evince, from the slightness of the evidence, that the Christian religion could have made no progress in those ages in North Britain; or we should be able to trace out facts, that would throw light upon the subject in dispute.

In that part of modern Scotland, now called the Western Lowlands, Christianity was evidently planted; and a Christian church formed, before the Romans left Britain. Early in the fifth century, we find the seat of a bishop at a place called *Candida Casa*, or Whithorn, in Galloway; and the person who presided over it was Ninian, who became the apostle of the South Picts, or the people who inhabited on this side of the Grampian hills; the country which forms the middle region of Scotland. Those called the Northern Picts occupied the mountainous regions of Scotland, together with the plains to the eastward. The South Picts were called *Deucaliones* (or *Deheu Celyddon*), and the North Picts *Vecturones* (or *Withorion*); allusive to their geographical situation.

The mission of Ninian is placed about the year 412: but we have no information as to the circumstances which led to it. His name is commemorated in being given to the church and parish of St. Ninian, near Stirling; and from that circumstance we may conjecture where the field of his labours chiefly lay.

The church of *Candida Casa*, which the Britons, I apprehend, would call *Cŷs Gwyn*, is represented as a sumptuous edifice for that age. The historian says, it was the first stone church that had been erected in Britain; but this appears vastly improbable: for, since the Roman empire became Christian, some of their churches in Britain would partake of the elegance which was dis-

played in other public buildings : but Bede judged of the Roman Britons by their low condition in *Cumbria* and *Wales*, in his time.

The name of *Candida Casa* Bede supposes to have been given on account of the whiteness of the stones, of which this sacred edifice was constructed ; but the name rather applies to the place than to the building, and seems to denote the pleasantness of the situation. The word *Cās* is an abbreviation of castell, or castle ; and the word *white* also denotes beauty, or fairness, in the Welsh language ; which was, at that time, the dialect of the country from the *Solway* to the *Clyde*.

Under the preaching of Ninian the Southern Picts renounced idolatry, and became professors of Christianity ; and a Christian church was established among that people. We are told, that he ordained presbyters, and consecrated bishops : he divided the whole country into parishes ; and, having thus put every thing into order among his new converts, he returned to his own bishopric. This was certainly doing much for one person, however eminent for his zeal and abilities ; and we must suppose his new converts to have been very tractable. But it is probable, that no small portion of that art of magnifying, so common among the Romish writers, is here employed ; or, that the Christianity spoken of consisted merely in the chief men embracing the name of Christians, and adopting its external rites. But even to induce a fierce and warlike people to adopt the mere forms of the Christian religion, was no small achievement. That they could find fit persons also to fill the office of the ministry, among so rude a people, is not very credible ; unless Christianity had been propagated, in some degree, previously to the coming over of Ninian among them. This was the case with St. Patrick, in Ireland ; he having to regulate the state of things, and

extend the Christian cause, rather than to be its founder, in that island. Thus, in the present instance, Ninian receives all the honour, while his humble predecessors have no names recorded in history. Ninian died A. D. 432; and, after his decease, the primacy of the churches of the Cumbrrian Britons was removed to Glasgow, by *Kentigern*, or *St. Mayngu*, of whom we have spoken before.

The affairs of Ireland were so intimately blended with the state of Scotland, in ancient times; that we cannot have a proper understanding of the one, without attending to the other. The Caledonians and the Irish formed alliances with each other, and mutually and jointly opposed the Roman power in Britain: for these old Irish were as much embroiled with the coming over of new clans, as the Britons were with the wars of the Romans, and afterwards of the Saxons. The Caledonians, as we find by the poems of Ossian, frequently took a part in the wars of Ireland; and these Hibernians, in their turns, came over to Britain to aid the Caledonians, or Picts, as they were generally called. The junction of these two people was the cause of the name, in the British history, of *Gwyddel-Fichti*, or Gwyddelian Picts. In our old Bards I know not that we have any allusion to the name; but they speak of *Prydyn*, *Gwyddel*, and *Ellmyn*, that is, the Northern Britons, the Irish, and the *Alemanni*, meaning the Saxons. Caledonia and Ireland, being equally free from the Roman yoke, were leagued together against "The people of the king of the world;" while they envied the riches of the Roman Britons, and longed to glut themselves with their spoils.

The contiguity of the west of Scotland to Ireland, was the cause of an intercourse of a more beneficial nature. The light of Christianity could not long be enjoyed by the Hibernian Scots, without being imparted

to the Caledonians. We shall, therefore, find that after the mission of Patrick to Ireland, the Gospel was preached to the Caledonians, or Northern Picts; the labours of Ninian, in all probability, not extending beyond Stirlingshire, and the country to the westward of the *Forth*.

In the year 431, Patrick succeeded Palladius, whom Pope Celestinus is said to have sent over to Ireland, not as the first planter of the Christian religion in that island; for there were Christians there before his time, as Archbishop Usher and others have shewn. Palladius is expressly said to have been sent, not so much to convert the heathen Irish, as to confirm and establish the Christians there. The first Irish Christians, such as *Kiaran* and others, had a very simple form of church government, consisting of that kind of episcopacy which differed very considerably from the splendour of diocesan bishops. *Johannes Fordun* says that, before the coming over of Palladius, the Hibernian Scots had no ministers in their church of a higher order than Presbyters; following herein the custom of the primitive church. *Johannes Balæus* also says that the design of Palladius's mission was, that he might regulate the functions of the priesthood there, after the manner of the Roman church. Previous to this time the bishops and ministers were elected by the suffrages of the people, in like manner as was usual among the Britons, agreeably to the custom of the Asiatic churches. Respecting the simplicity of these old Christians of Ireland and Scotland, we shall have more to say presently.*

Palladius met with such opposition in his designs, that he became so disheartened as to quit Ireland, and return

* It is not an unplausible supposition that the state of ecclesiastical affairs in South Britain, at least among the Cambrians, was on that scale of simplicity, that there were no diocesan bishops before the coming over of *Lupus* and *Germon*.

to North-Britain; where, not long after, he died among the Picts. Of what country he was it is uncertain; although some accounts make him a Briton, which is not improbable.

Patrick has generally been regarded as a native of the Strath Clyde territory; and that principally, if not entirely, on account of the name of a place, near *Dunbritton*, called *Kilpatrick*. From thence we are told he was carried away captive by the Hibernian Scots, when he was sixteen years of age; and, after being detained some time in Ireland, he was again restored to his country and friends; but had the misfortune of being a second and a third time captured in the same manner. After being thus tossed up and down, he found his way to Rome; and from thence he was sent by the Pope to Ireland, as primate of that island. Here we have a confused account, attended with circumstances highly improbable; the particulars of which only appear the more obscure the more they are investigated.

In "The History of the British Saints," which has been made use of in the preceding part of this work, we have an account of this celebrated character, which is simple and credible. Mr. Owen has inserted it in his Cambrian biography; and it is to the following effect:

The emperor THEODOSIUS, or rather his father, Count THEODOSIUS, in conjunction with *Constantine*, of Armorica, called The Blessed, founded the college of *Illutus*, (at *Caerworgan*, in the vale of Glamorgan,) which was first regulated by one *Balerus*, a Roman; and *Patrick*, the son of *Maon*, was the principal (or president) of it, until he was carried away captive by the *Gwyddelians*, or Irish. The truth of this record, says Mr. Owen, is corroborated by the remarkable fact in the history of Wales, that the Irish were enabled to settle themselves along nearly the whole extent of its

coast, in the beginning of the fifth century; and continued there until the middle of the same century, when they were expelled from the North, by the natives, assisted by the sons of Cunetha; and from the South, with the aid of Urien. Among the Welsh Patrick is called the son of *Mawon*, and stiled *Padrig Maenwryn*, of *Gwyr*, or *Gower*, in the west of Glamorgan; and the place of his nativity is said to be *Aberllychwr*, or *Lloghor*, where there is a church dedicated to his memory. There is nothing improbable in all this; and it explains what is affirmed in some other accounts, respecting the intimacy which subsisted between him and Germanus, who came over to Britain to suppress Pelagianism, and to regulate the British churches, about the year 430; and afterwards a second time.

But what evidence have we that Patrick was ever at Rome; and much less that the bishop of Rome, in that age, assumed the power of sending bishops and primates to distant countries. It is far more probable that this holy man, being taken by the Irish, in one of their piratical excursions, was, by them, carried over to Ireland; that he providentially gained the good graces of his captors; and recovering his liberty, became a preacher of Christianity in that country, and a valuable accession to the infant cause of the Hibernian church. By co-operating with Kiaran, and his brethren, he promoted the Christian religion to that extent, and established it upon that basis; that subsequent ages regarded him as the apostle of Ireland, and its patron saint. The superior learning and abilities of *Patrick*, gave him a decided superiority over the poor solitary Christians, whom he found there. These, it is stated in old legends, at first refused to submit themselves to their new apostle; but were afterwards induced, by angelic visions, to acknowledge his superiority.

It may well be thought curious, if at this time of day it appears that the first primate of the Hibernian church was, though a great and holy man, thrown upon the country as a poor captive; and, that it was more owing to his learning and piety, than the appointment of the Roman church, that he has gained so great a name; to which he is justly entitled, after all the fables intermixed with his history are done away.

There are two saints, of the name of Patrick, mentioned in the Welsh traditions; the one being the apostle of Ireland, the son of Mawon, and sufficiently distinguished from the other, the son of Alvryd, descended from the family of *Caw*, of the North. This latter lived about the conclusion of the seventh century, and was kinsman of *Ebbodius*, or *Etkod*, who presided over the monastery at Bangor, on the Menai. There is every probability that St. Patrick was, if not a native of Wales, brought up there in one of the seminaries of Germanus; and that it was from thence he received his qualifications to become an evangelist. Ireland was christianized from the Britons of Wales; and Scotland and Northumbria from Ireland.

§ 2. *Columba.*

By the labours of St. Patrick and his coadjutors, many churches and religious institutions were founded; and Ireland produced many pious and learned characters, who became the instruments of conveying the light of Christianity among the heathen nations of Caledonia and the Anglo-Saxons. These are the *Cul-dees*, or *Celedes*, so much celebrated in the history of those ages. We have heard previously of the barbarities of the Hibernian Scots, in conjunction with the

Picts; but we have now to speak of those nations in a different light.

Among the luminaries of the church of Ireland in the sixth century, Columba, or St. Colum (or Colan), bears a conspicuous name, as the apostle of the Highlands and islands of Scotland, and the father of the college of Iona and its Culdees.

This great man was born in the year 521; and educated under the care of *Gemman*, and others, who were held in high repute for the sanctity of their character, and their acquaintance with sacred literature. *Columba* was held in great estimation; as from his proficiency in various studies, and the holiness of his conduct, his seniors soon perceived clear intimations of his rising greatness.

"Ireland," says Dr. Smith, "had now for a long time enjoyed the light of the Gospel, and abounded in saints and learned men; while the isles and northern parts of Scotland were still covered with darkness, and in the shackles of superstition. On those dismal regions, therefore, Columba looked with a pitying eye; and, however forbidding the prospect, resolved to become the apostle of the Highlands. Accordingly, in the year 563 he set out in a wicker boat, covered with hides, accompanied by twelve of his friends and followers; and landed at HIR, or HIONA, near the confines of the Scottish and the Pictish territories. This place he probably chose, as being conveniently situated for his attending to the important concerns which he had to manage in Ireland, as well as for the work which he had in view in Scotland.

Before this time Christianity had found its way among the Scots of Argyle, who are stated to have been evangelized by St. Patrick, before they come over from Ireland. The South Picts, or the inhabitants of the eastern and the central lowlands, had received Christianity from

Ninian and his coadjutors. The mission of Columba had for its object the wildest parts of Caledonia, and the numerous islands that were destitute of the light of the Gospel.

Columba was now in the forty-second year of his age ; and needed all his vigour of mind and body, in encountering those difficulties which presented themselves to him, when he undertook the conversion of the Northern Picts to Christianity. The nation was in so barbarous a state, that some of them, regardless of the sanctity of his character, made more than once an attempt upon his life ; and the king, not more civilized than his people, ordered his gate to be shut when the holy man first approached it. The priests, or Druids* too, as they were most interested, so they were most forward to oppose him ; and wanted neither eloquence, influence, nor art, to effect their purpose. The country itself was wild, woody, and mountainous, and greatly infested with wild beasts, from which the life of the saint seems to have been more than once in imminent danger. And what appears to have been the greatest difficulty of all, he was at first so little master of the dialect of that people, at least of some among them, as to need an interpreter when he preached to them.

Columba, so far from departing from the purity of re-

* We have, among the poetic fragments of *Merlin*, the Caledonian, a dialogue which passed between the Bard and St. *Colum*, who is there called *Sgolan*, or the *Colan*, the definite particle being prefixed to proper names, according to the Greek manner. In the Welsh version we still have *Yr Iesu* ; and it was common to say, *Yr Ievan*, &c., as among the modern Scotch we have, *The Graeme*, *The Bruce*, and *The Wallace*.—See the Welsh Archæology, Vol. I. The fragment seems to contain a penitential confession on the Bard's part ; and he prays for pardon to the Creator, and appeals to the saint whether he had not suffered sufficient penance for his fault.

ligion, or accommodating it to the corrupt state of the heathen Picts, under the pretext of inducing them more readily to embrace the gospel; continued to live with the most rigid austerity. He fasted whole days, and spent whole nights in watching and prayer. - He submitted to constant fatigue of body, and anxiety of mind abroad, or the most intense application to study at home. His self-denial was such that, at the age of 76, his bed was the bare ground, and a stone his pillow. Although his manners were thus rigid, and not likely to allure proselytes, his labours were attended with the most astonishing success. In the course of a few years the greater part of the Pictish kingdom embraced Christianity. So highly was Columba respected, that not only the affairs of the Pictish churches, but in a great measure those of the Albanian Scots, and the Irish, were placed under his superintendence and direction.

He was highly revered by the king of the Picts, and by all the neighbouring princes, who courted his acquaintance, and liberally assisted him in his expensive undertakings. He was received with the highest demonstrations of respect and joy wherever he went; and when at home, he was resorted to for aid and advice, as a physician both of soul and body, by multitudes of every rank and denomination.

He was a man of faith and prayer; and much devoted to the study of the Holy Scriptures, in transcribing copies of which he was engaged to the day of his death. His talents were of a very superior kind, and an uncommon greatness of soul is marked in every part of his extensive schemes; the happy execution and success of which are pregnant proofs of wisdom, perseverance, zeal, and abilities. His firmness and fortitude, his prudence and address, must have been great, when we consider the various and arduous undertakings in which he was

engaged, and in which he proved so eminently successful.

Notwithstanding the rigid self-denial of Columba, in the midst of his austerities he was possessed of a very tender heart: as a proof of this, his inflexible hostility to human slavery ought to be noticed. It is said that a certain master, who was sick, had a female slave, whom he had hitherto refused to release. This so grieved the noble spirit of Columba, that he refused to administer medicine to him; and assured him that his disease would soon prove fatal, unless he accepted the condition upon which he offered his assistance; the liberation of his female slave, an act of humanity which, till now, he never could be prevailed upon to perform. His zeal for the abolition of slavery was so assiduous, that his endeavours proved successful throughout the Highlands; and the system was never afterwards restored.

The following anecdotes of Columba are taken from Dr. Smith, for the illustration of his amiable character:—A crane had one day taken its flight across the seas from Ireland; and by the time it drew near the shores of Iona, was so spent that it was obliged to alight in the water. The saint foresaw that this was likely to be its fate; and had already ordered one of his monks away, (though it was at the most distant part of the island,) to take up the poor bird, and save its life. Bring it, said he, to the nearest house, feed it, and take all the care you can of it for three days, till it be well refreshed, and recover its strength, so as to be able to cross the sea again to its native home. The monk obeyed, and the saint was thankful. Such a circumstance affords us a fine picture of the benevolence of Columba's disposition. Another incident, of a like nature, occurs in the account we have of the transactions of the saint's dying day. He had been to see and bless the provision of his monks, from

whom he was on that day to take his departure. On his return to the monastery, he sat down on the way to rest him: his old white horse, which used to carry the milk vessels betwixt the monastery and the fold, observed him, came where he was, reclined his head upon his breast; and, as if sensible of his master's near departure, began to express his grief by groans, and even tears. Dermot offered to turn him away, but the saint forbade: let him alone, said he; let him alone, for he loves me; and I will not hinder him, on this occasion, to drop his tears in my bosom, and shew the bitterness of his grief. To thee God hath given reason; but see (that they might not be despised), he hath planted affection even in brutes; and in this, even something like a prescience of my departure. Now, my faithful and affectionate friend, begone; and may you be kindly cared for by Him who made you!

The religion which Columba taught, with the exception of certain austerities, tended to promote every thing amiable, useful, and just. Neither the absurd practices nor unscriptural tenets, now beginning to find their way into the Catholic church, were propagated by him; and they were afterwards nobly opposed by his successors.

His monastery became the chief seat of learning perhaps in Europe, for those ages; and the nursery from which not only all the monasteries, and above three hundred churches, which he himself had established, but also many of those in neighbouring nations, were supplied with learned divines and able pastors.

“He thus kindled,” says Dr. Smith, “a light which shone in a dark place for many generations; and, by its kindly beams, cherished the seed which he had sown, and brought it forward to an abundant harvest.”

The monks of Iona encountered the most dangerous voyages, in quest of situations where they might plant

the Gospel. Some of these monks are said to have been found in Iceland, by the Norwegians, when they first discovered that island, in the year 900.

They rejoiced in being able to discover any land which the Gospel had not already reached, that they might publish to the inhabitants the glad tidings of salvation. Nor were they less zealous in rousing men to a greater regard for the truths of the Gospel, by preaching it in its native purity, where it was already professed. We meet with some of them in almost every country in Europe; and their learning and sanctity always procured them respect and honour.

The name of Culdees, or rather *Celedei*, which, whether it was assumed by the monks of Iona, or given to them by others, has been variously interpreted. *Celedei*, or *Keledei*, is, perhaps, derived from *Gille Dì*, which, in Gaelic, would imply servants of God; and much to the same purport would be the term *Colidei* (quasi *Cultores Dei*), worshippers of God. I cannot help thinking, with Dr. Smith, that this is the true etymology, in preference to that of Dr. Lloyd, and Dr. Jamieson, both of whom think that *Keledei* comes from the word *Kêl*, or *Kil*, a monastic cell.

Besides the various churches and monasteries, founded by Columba and his disciples, during the life-time of that saint in Ireland, churches were raised in all the western isles, and throughout the territory of the Scots, (that is, the Hibernian Scots, who had settled on the western coast of Caledonia), as well as the Northern Picts on the farther side of the mountains of Drum-Albin, and some far beyond them. Most of our parishes, says Dr. Smith, still bear the name of his disciples, and indicate their founder; while the vast number of places, whose names begin with *Kil*, shew how thick our churches were anciently planted; so that there is much reason to believe,

that the largest number ascribed to Columba is not above the mark. Providence smiled in a remarkable manner on his labours, and his success was astonishing. It is not surprising that so extraordinary a man should have been so greatly revered while alive, and his memory so highly respected long after his death. Accordingly, he is stiled by foreign, as well as by domestic writers, the apostle of the Scots and Picts, the patron saint of both, and the joint patron of Ireland. Columba, although only an abbot, had the singular privilege of exercising (as did his successors) a jurisdiction over all their bishops, being primate of all their churches. This last-named circumstance has been the cause of vehement debates between the advocates of episcopacy, and the defenders of the Presbyterian church government. Bishop Lloyd, in his historical treatise on the church government of the ancient Britons and Scots, has amply discussed the subject, in order to prove that neither Columba nor his followers were averse to episcopacy. At the same time, it appears, that even those who afterwards were promoted to bishoprics, still looked with reverence to Iona and its college, as the place from whence they were sent forth, and as the source of their ministerial authority. They seem to have considered the episcopal office as relatively, rather than essentially, distinct from the pastoral office fulfilled by the presbyter. Their practice was agreeable to the practice of the primitive church in its purest times, as described by Lord King. Whatever appellation be given to Columba, he was a man of an apostolic spirit and piety, endued with extraordinary talents, and honoured with great and unusual prosperity in all he undertook. His sanctity consisted in being good, and doing good; and if, indeed, he were tinctured with the superstitions of the age in some degree; yet, if we examine the history of the

church in general, we can find but few worthy to be compared with him for ardent zeal, extensive and incessant labours, and abundant usefulness. He was truly, what the popes of Rome have hypocritically called themselves, "The servant of the servants of God."

This holy man was venerated in countries far distant from Iona. One of his ancient biographers (Adomnan) observes that, "though Columba lived in a small remote island of the British ocean, yet God had done him the honour to make his name renowned not only through all Britain and Ireland, but through Spain, France, and Italy, and particularly in Rome, the greatest city in the world. Thus," adds he, "God honoureth those who honour Him, for which His holy name be praised."

The death of Columba was, like his life, that of a saint. In the 77th year of his age, before he had lost the vigour of his faculties, or his bodily force was abated, he breathed his spirit into his Redeemer's hands, bowing to the stroke of death in the church, before the altar, when the midnight vigils were about to commence. Of this eminent man I can do no less than join with his biographer, Dr. Smith, in saying that he was a man whose extraordinary piety, parts, and usefulness, accompanied with a perpetual serenity of mind, cheerfulness of countenance, simplicity of manners, benevolence of heart, and sweetness of disposition, have deservedly raised him to the first rank of saints or holy men.

Not being in possession of the narratives of Columba's life, as given by his ancient biographers, I have made use of the life of that saint by Dr. Smith, of Campbellton; an interesting and candid performance, worthy of the perusal of all friends of ancient church history.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Scots from Iona preach to the Northumbrians.

THE credit of the monastery of Iona was well supported for ages after the death of its founder. It supplied not only the British isles, but other countries also, with learned and pious teachers. "From this nest of Columba," says Odonellus, "these sacred doves took their flight to all quarters." Wherever they went they disseminated learning and true religion, "of both which," says Dr. Smith, "they seem to have possessed the greatest share of any society then in Europe; and seem to have done more than any other towards the revival of both, when they were at the lowest ebb."

Although Augustine and his disciples had introduced the Christian religion, as it was taught then at Rome, among the Heathen Saxons of the south of England; there were some provinces that either had not received the Gospel at all, or were so ill supplied with the ordinances of religion, that there was ample room for the labours of the Scottish missionaries. These holy men were ready to impart the light of truth to every nation; and although the diversity of language would rather prove an obstacle, yet, as there were a few Saxons who resorted to *Iona*, the monks might, by their means, obtain some skill in the language of their nation.

It was about the time of Columba's death that Augustine was sent over by Pope Gregory to Britain, with the design of subjecting the British Christians to the power of the Roman hierarchy, as well as of converting

the Heathen. Being sensible how great an acquisition it would prove to their cause to obtain the Scots for their auxiliaries, the disciples of Augustine were disposed to try whether they could not find them more submissive than the Cambro-Britons. They wished them to join with the Roman church, with respect to the time of observing the feast of Easter, and some other ceremonies; and to acknowledge the superiority of Rome: but herein they were unsuccessful. Bede endeavours to apologize for their errors; and excuses them by observing, that in the remote part of the world in which they lived, they were unacquainted with the Roman decretals; and *only taught their disciples out of the writings of the evangelists and apostles*. This may be considered as the highest encomium which could be conferred upon them. They were, it appears, mighty in the Scriptures; and hitherto happily ignorant of the corrupt traditions of the church of Rome, which was now attempting to exalt itself above all the churches of Christendom.

Oswald having obtained the Northumbrian kingdom, was resolved to restore the Christian religion within his dominions. With this design, he sent to the Scots of Iona, requesting that a suitable person might be deputed from among them, to come and instruct his people in the Christian Faith. The monarch was thus favourably disposed to the propagation of the Gospel; and he wished his people should receive it from the hands of the Scots, because he himself had been initiated among them when he was in a state of exile among the Picts. The name of the person sent on this mission was *Aidan*; and he is described as a man of exemplary piety and great zeal, joined with meekness and moderation. He neglected nothing in his ministry which the Scriptures contain; and in his holy life he displayed that purity which he recommended to others. But although this he

allowed by the historian, he must needs say that this holy man's zeal was not according to knowledge. He believed all things written in the law and the prophets; he lived in all good conscience, and gained the general esteem of the Northumbrians: still he was stained with *heresy*, for he did not observe Easter at the proper season. King Oswald did not conceive that he and his people were bound by the decisions of Pope Gregory, and his legate, Augustine: Aidan and his brethren, therefore, celebrated Easter, and did other things according to their established usage. Bed. l. iii. c. 3.

The account which Bede gives of the commencement of Aidan's ministry, is attended with a circumstance extremely pleasing: the good man being but slightly versed in the Saxon language, the king, who was pretty well acquainted with the native language of Aidan, interpreted his preaching to the people; as during the time of his exile, that prince had acquired the knowledge of the Scottish or Highland tongue.

Although Aidan and his brethren, who came over to assist him, were caressed by the monarch; yet, when called to his presence, and honoured with seats at the royal table, at the time of great festivals, after moderately refreshing themselves, they retired and devoted their time to study and devotion.

The kingdom of Mercia (or the country of the *Mers*), which comprized the central or midland parts of England, had Christianity introduced into it on the following occasion: The son and heir of Pendum, the Mercian king, wished to obtain the hand of King Oswald's daughter; but this could not be admitted on any other terms than his embracing Christianity. The charms of the princess might have induced him the more readily to accede to the proposal; but, being made acquainted with the nature and tendency of the Christian religion, he determined

to receive it; and he became a Christian, according to Bede, from conviction. The prince and his attendants, being baptized, returned home zealous in behalf of their new religion, accompanied by four presbyters, to teach and convert the inhabitants of the Mercian kingdom.

The names of the presbyters were *Cedd* and *Adda*, *Betti* and *Diuma*, of whom the last was a Scot, the rest being Anglo-Saxons. The young king continued to patronize Christianity in his dominions, where it had once before been planted, but the Mercians had apostatized. Most of the nobles embraced the profession of Christianity; and great numbers of people of every degree followed their example. Bed. l. iii. c. 21.

This happened about two years before the death of the great warrior, King Penda, of whom the historian says, that he attempted not to obstruct Christianity, rather admiring those who added good works to their faith, while he held those persons in contempt, who, professing so pure a religion, dishonoured their Lord by their evil practices. Upon the death of Penda, King Oswy procured Diuma to be ordained bishop of the Midland Angles and Mercians; for, owing to the scarcity of priests, one bishop was set over the two nations. Christianity was once more restored within the kingdom of the East Saxons; through the entreaty of Oswy, the Northumbrian king, who prevailed upon Sigebert to admit the ministers of Christianity into his dominions, to instruct his people.* *Cedd* was sent for out of the

* Bede's account states how King Oswy discoursed with the sovereign of the East-Saxons, on the absurdity of worshipping idols; reasoning with him, that the true God is invisible to human eyes, omnipotent and eternal; that He is the Creator of heaven and earth, and the race of mankind; the Governor and the Judge of the world. King Oswy thus, in a friendly and brotherly manner, frequently ad-

Mercian territory for that purpose; and he succeeded in his mission, and was soon afterwards raised to the episcopal dignity. He was brother to Ceadda, or St. Chad, who afterwards was made bishop of the Mercians; and to him the cathedral church of Lichfield is dedicated.

The pious *Aidan*, the Northumbrian bishop, died at his residence in the island of Lindisfarne; and he was succeeded by *Finan*, who was ordained by the Scots, and sent to fulfil his place and office. The cathedral church which he erected was in a style of simplicity agreeable to the views of the Christians of his communion in that age, not built of hewn stone, but of oak timber, covered with reeds. In a subsequent age, when Eadbert was bishop, this humble building was covered all over with sheets of lead, the sides as well as the roof. After the death of *Aidan*, and of *Finan*, his successor, *Colman* was sent from Iona to exercise the episcopal office: and now the disputes respecting the observance of Easter, which had been suspended during the time of the two first bishops, became very violent. King Oswy was partial to the Scots; but his queen had one Romanus for her chaplain, who warmly opposed the Scottish custom, and contended for the Catholic, or the orthodox Easter. It would happen sometimes that the Scots kept Easter on one Sunday, in which the king joined them; and then the queen, and Prince Alchfrid, along with the Romish clergy, observed the same festival the Sunday following; and thus there was a strange incongruity in the church. It was requisite, in this state of things, to convene a synod to determine a point which was the cause of such violent contention. The place of meeting was at the monastery of Strethshale, near Whitby, over which *St. Hilda* presided as the abbess; the king, and his son Alchfrid, besides the Pagan prince, until conviction was produced. Oswy, might, with propriety, be stiled *Defender of the Faith*.

ing present. There *Colman*, on the part of the Scots, defended their observance of Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, or from that to the twentieth day; whereas the Catholics kept it from the fifteenth day of the moon, after the vernal equinox, to the twenty-first.

Colman pleaded the example of *St. John* and the Asiatic churches; but the Catholics pleaded the practice of Rome, derived from *St. Peter* and *Paul*, as they averred; considering the Christians of Britain and Ireland as too contemptible to be compared with so many famous churches, to whose practice they were opposed. *Colman* was told that he and his associates grievously erred in opposing the apostolic see, and the church universal: and, as the *argumentum palmarium*, it was added that nothing could be more absurd than to plead the practice of *Columba*, when that was manifestly opposed to the authority of *St. Peter*, the prince of the apostles; him to whom Christ said,—*Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

The king heard patiently all that was advanced on both sides, thus far; but now, interrupting *Wilfrid*, he puts the question to *Colman*: “Were these things then of a truth spoken by the Lord to *Peter*?”—*Certainly*, said the bishop. “Have you then any proof to shew that such powers were granted to your *Columba*?”—*None*, replied *Colman*. “Do you then,” asks the king, “agree, both parties of you, that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given by the Lord to *Peter*?” it was replied that this was agreed on all hands. “Then,” said the king, by way of conclusion, “inasmuch as *Peter* is the door-keeper, I would not oppose him on any account, but rather yield him all obedience, lest, when I come to the gates of heaven, I find them shut against

me by him who is allowed to keep the keys." The king thus brought the matter to a decision, and the dispute was terminated. The historian appears to think that the king gave the highest proof of his wisdom; and, indeed, if he relate the matter as it really happened, his majesty came to a ready way of being no more teased with the dispute; and we may admire his wit in silencing the disputants, whatever we may think of his divinity.

Colman, seeing he was now overpowered by the Catholics, prepared, with his associates, to return to Iona, to consult his brethren there as to what was best to be done upon the present emergency. The debate respecting Easter, as well as another which was connected with it, the clerical tonsure, was blended with the grand question, whether they must be bound in all things to yield submission to the Roman See, or maintain their independence and their right of judgment. The Culdees knew how Augustine had treated the Cambro-Britains, and the opposition those Christians had so nobly made to his arrogant pretensions. The monks of Iona must be disposed to reason on the case like the monks of Bangor; and yet, perhaps, apprehensive they might subject themselves, although not immediately, to the same tragical fate.

The synod of Strenaschalep was held A. D. 664, being the twenty-second year of the reign of King Oswy; and the thirtieth since the coming of the Scots to Northumberland; and the sixty-ninth year since the death of Columba. *Aidan* had been bishop of Lindisfarn seventeen years; *Finan*, ten; and *Colman*, three years.*

Colman was succeeded by *Tudda*, who having been educated among the Southern Scots (that is, in the south of Ireland), and ordained by them, was reputed orthodox, holding the Catholic doctrine respecting Easter; and

* Bede's Eccles. History, l. iii. c. 25.

having the proper clerical tonsure. How obvious is the inference, that to this day the natives of the south of Ireland are bigotted to the Romish church; while the inhabitants of the north of Ireland are as zealous Protestants as those of North Britain:

I cannot dismiss the case of the mission of the Culdees to Northumberland, without noticing the candid concessions of Bede, and his favourable character of Colman and his associates. Their living was of the most plain and frugal kind; supporting themselves by their own labour, and more anxious for the improvement of their minds, than glutting the bodily appetite. Their only wealth was their cattle; what money was presented them they gave to the poor; their houses were barely sufficient for their own accommodation; and, by what we have before related, we see they did not, under a pretence of solemnity, raise costly edifices for Divine worship. They never took upon them to lodge and entertain the rich, who had nothing to expect from them, but the word of God preached in the church. If the king, with five or six attendants, chose at any time to take a refreshment with them, after the conclusion of the service, he must have contented himself with the plain and daily fare of the brethren. Their conduct was so devout and discreet that they brought religion into so high repute, that a clergyman, or monk, was every where received with joy as a servant of God. Wherever they travelled the road, people rejoiced to see them; and when they went to any village, it was always in the way of their calling, either to preach, baptize, or visit the sick; and then crowds gathered to hear them. "In short," says the historian, "they were so devoted to the care of men's souls, that they were free from every tincture of avarice, and regard for earthly possessions."

The *Culdees* were, in the following age, persuaded to comply with the use of the Roman computation, respecting the time of observing Easter : but they still refused to yield absolute submission to the Roman see. *Adamnan*, their countryman and associate, first induced the Irish to concede the point; and soon after *Naitan*, king of the Picts, by his regal authority, commanded Easter to be observed, throughout his dominions, according to the Roman cycle of 19 years; instead of the cycle of 84 years, which had been the former custom. At the same time, the Roman tonsure was enjoined; that is, all priests and monks were obliged to be shorn crown-wise, after the manner of the Roman clergy. The monks, also, of the island of Iona, (by the persuasion of *Egbert*, an English priest, that had been bred in Ireland), in the year of our Lord 716, forsook their usual custom, as to the feast of Easter, and the clerical tonsure, by now conforming to the Roman rite; about eighty years after the departure of bishop *Aidan*, on his mission to Northumberland. The Britons, in the time of *Bede*, still retained their old usage, until *Elbodius*, who died about A.D. 800, brought in the Roman custom. But howsoever, says Archbishop *Ussher*, North Wales did, it is very probable that West Wales (which of all other parts was most eagerly bent against the traditions of the Roman church) stood out yet longer. For we find, in the Greek life of *St. Chrysostom*, that certain clergymen, who dwelt in the isles of the ocean, repaired from the utmost borders of the habitable world to *Constantinople*, in the days of *Methodius* (who was patriarch there, from the year 842 to 847), to enquire of *certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter*. It is inferred from hence, that as there can be no doubt that the British isles are referred to, that the disputes respecting Easter were not yet laid to rest;

and that our Britons, not being satisfied with the determination of the Pope of Rome, resorted to the decision of the bishop of Constantinople.*

These disputes were considered so important, that even the ordination of the Scottish bishops was considered by the Catholics as null and void, because of their heresy in not conforming to the Roman customs. On this account Wilfrid, who was appointed bishop in the room of Colman, who left his charge, or rather was thrust out of it, refused to accept of ordination from either the Scots or Britons. He, therefore, requested king Oswy that he might go over to the continent to be ordained. But while he delayed his return home, the king appointed *Ceadda*, or *St. Chad*, to be ordained bishop of York in his room. In this the king shewed his old regard for the Scottish doctors; and manifested a just indignation at the disparagement offered to those holy men, who were either the founders or restorers of so many churches. *Ceadda* was the disciple of *Aidan*, the first bishop of Lindisfarne; and scrupled not to receive ordination from *Wini*, bishop of the West Saxons, (who was considered orthodox), assisted by two British bishops. At that time, according to Bede, there was not, in all Britain, any bishop canonically ordained, (that is to say, by such as were of the Romish communion,) except that *Wini* alone.

What, then, became of the successors of Augustine and Laurentius? Does it not appear evident that, notwithstanding the pompous mission of Augustine, Christianity

* See Archbishop Ussher, on the Religion of the ancient Irish and British, ch. 9.; and Mr. Whitaker's Cornwall, Vol. II, p. 230; where he shews that the Britons followed the rule established at the council of Nice: whereas now the church of Rome used the Alexandrian cycle of 19 years, which they considered preferable to the old cycle of 84 years.

was kept alive by means of the Scots and Britons, even in England, among the Anglo-Saxons. So little did God bless the labours of the boasted apostle of England; who lived in disgrace during his remaining days, after the massacre of the monks of Bangor iscoed. But God raised up other men, more worthy than him and his agents, to diffuse religion through England. Yet how ill were those men treated by the artifice of the Roman Antichrist; by being expelled from the field in which they laboured, because of their jealous regard for their own liberties, and their unwillingness to yield implicit and unqualified submission to the *infallible* decretals of Rome. We may, perhaps, be disposed to blame the Britons and the Scots, for so strenuously insisting on matters of so trivial a nature; but, if they did not consider them as such, we should not be too forward to blame them, when we consider how little things have been made of high importance, in a more enlightened age. But *little* things may be *great*, when, either in apprehension or reality, they are connected with circumstances highly important. To yield subjection to a foreign power; to be allowed no judgment of their own; and to see the venerable names of men most eminent for their holiness and their learning trampled under foot, and themselves and their flocks placed under an anti-christian dominion; these were important considerations. Surely they are not to be blamed and censured; but rather worthy of our admiration and esteem, for the brave stand they made against arrogance and tyranny.

CHAPTER XV.

The Scots—Character of St. Chad—Theodore made Primate.—Death of King Oswy, and of Cadwalader.—Synod of Hartford.—The people of Sussex receive Christianity.—Remarks.

FROM what has been already said, it appears that the Scots differed not merely from the adherents of Rome, as to certain ceremonial matters; but their habits of life were very different, in that they retained more of the ancient simplicity, and were not men who aspired to secular honours. They were reproached with ignorance of the customs of the foreign churches: but they could not be ignorant in the things which it most behoved them to be acquainted with; for Bede himself testifies of their diligence in the study of the Scriptures, and their faithfulness in instructing the people out of them.

One of the most celebrated characters among the Saxon clergy was Ceadda, of whom we have just spoken; and he had been brought up among the Scots. Bede bears ample testimony to the piety and zeal of this devout man; for he tells us, that he travelled over the country to proclaim the Gospel in the towns and in the open country, visiting the habitations of the poor and the great; for he was one of the disciples of *Aidan*, (from Iona) and endeavoured to instruct the people after his example and that of his brother *Cedd*. From this time the *Scots* who dwelt in England either conformed to the ceremonies of the Roman church, or returned into their

own country, king Oswy being persuaded to take part with the Catholics. A person of the name of *Wighard*, a Saxon, was sent to Rome, to be ordained bishop there, and to be appointed metropolitan of the English churches, in order that he might ordain a sufficient number of orthodox bishops upon his return. But *Wighard*, soon after his arrival at Rome, died; when Pope *Vitalian* designated a monk of the name of *Adrian* for the same dignity; which that ecclesiastic declining, a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, of the name of *Theodore*, was ordained to be the English archbishop. *Theodore* having been brought up in the Greek church, though a man of learning and piety, well versed both in profane and sacred literature, laboured under the suspicion of not being conformable to all things enjoined by the Roman church: *Adrian* was, therefore, appointed to accompany him, ostensibly as the companion of his journey, but with the design that he might be prevented from introducing into England any of the customs of the Greeks.

The ordination of *Theodore* was in the year 668, about the season of Easter, being on the seventh of the Calends of April, when he was in the 66th year of his age. Coming to Marseilles by sea, both he and *Adrian* were detained in France for some time; so that the winter coming on, and being unusually severe, they did not arrive in England until the beginning of the following summer.

The new archbishop soon brought matters into a regular train, by visiting all parts, ordaining bishops in proper places, and, with their advice, correcting what was amiss. Bishop *Cæda*, in whose ordination two British bishops had assisted, was reprimanded: but the good man being willing to resign his office, the primate admired his humility, and completed his ordination, according to the Catholic rites, by laying his purer hands upon his head.

Theodore was the first archbishop to whom all the English clergy submitted; and whatever may be thought of the design of the Roman church, in his mission to England, his character was truly dignified, and he adorned the high situation which he held. He and his companion, or chaplain, the Abbot Adrian, were indefatigable in improving the English clergy, both in sacred and secular literature; in the various branches of both which they were themselves, as was before observed, well versed. "A croud of disciples flocked to them; and there daily flowed from them," to use the language of Venerable Bede, "rivers of saving knowledge for watering their hearts:" for, together with the exposition of the Scriptures, they also taught poetry and music, astronomy and arithmetic, and initiated their scholars into a thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages.

There were living, at the time when the historian wrote, some of their scholars, as familiarly acquainted with the *Greek* and *Latin*, as their own vernacular language. He testifies that their days were the happiest that the English nation ever knew from the first coming over of the Angles into Britain: for their princes were both brave and pious;* and there was a general disposition in all ranks of people to regard their spiritual concerns: and as people were thus willing to

* Bede calls the Saxon kings, of that period, *fortissimos Christianosque*, and that they were a terror to all the barbarous nations, (*cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori*); by whom he perhaps meant the *Picts* and the *Welsh*; for the territories of King *Oswy* extended to the *Forth*, if not beyond it; for mention is made of the *Picts* that were subject to his dominion; and as to the *Welsh*, both *Oswald* and *Oswy* proved too potent for their princes after the death of *Cadwallon*. The famine and pestilence in Wales which obliged King *Cadwalader* to retreat into *France*, were most probably occasioned by the devastations of *Oswy*.

receive instruction, there were competent persons ready to communicate it.

Theodore appointed Ceadda, with the sanction of the king of Mercia, to be bishop of that province, as well as of the Midland Angles. He fixed his episcopal seat at Lichfield, where the see of the bishops of that diocese continued; and in the year 1148 *Roger de Clinton*, bishop at that time, founded a stately church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and St. Ceadda, or Chad.

In the year 670, King *Oswy* died. Venerable Bede relates that it was his *devout* wish and purpose, had his life been spared a little longer, to go to Rome, and end his days in that holy place! *Oswy* had, during a long reign, extended his dominions from Northumberland to the centre of England, being king of Bernicia and Deira, of Mercia and the Mid-Angles: he held Wales in subjection, as well as some parts of the Pictish dominions, including perhaps the country to the south of Braidalbin. Cadwalader, the British king, tired out with perpetual warfare, and seeing the struggle between the old Britons and the Saxons now become hopeless, and the country being afflicted with famine and pestilence, he was compelled to seek a retreat in Britany. After an interval of some years, he found that the state of affairs among his people at home was so unfavourable that he relinquished all claims to sovereignty; and, being seized with the superstition of the times, he went on pilgrimage to Rome, where, according to Caradoc the historian, he died in the year 680. After him, not one of the princes of Wales assumed the title of *King of the Britons*; and the remnants of the ancient inhabitants were governed by their respective chieftains in Cornwall, South and North Wales, and Clydesdale.*

* In about a century after the death of Cadwalader the whole of the country southward of the Clyde and the Forth was added to the Saxons

In the third year of the reign of *Ecfrið*, the son and successor of *Oswy*, being A.D. 673, a synod was convened at *Heorotford*, or *Hartford*, at which the archbishop presided; and there were present, *Bisi*, bishop of the East Angles, the proxy of *Wilfrid* bishop of the Northumbrians, *Putta*, bishop of Rochester, *Lutherius*, bishop of the West Saxons, and *Wynfrid*, bishop of the province of the Mercians. Among other things it was ordained that Easter be kept, through all the provinces, on the *Sunday* next after the fourteenth day of the moon of the first month; that no bishop intrude into the diocese of another; that no bishop molest monasteries; that monks leave not their own monastery without consent of the Abbot; that no clergyman wander about, or be any where entertained without letters of recommendation from his own prelate; and that bishops, or other clergymen, on their travels, be treated with hospitality; but that it be deemed unlawful for them to exercise any of their functions, without leave of the priest, or bishop, within whose precincts they may be then situated. It was also ordered that more bishops should be ordained as the number of the faithful increased; from which it appears that there still existed obstructions to the spread of Christianity in some of the provinces. The only regulation, besides what related to the clergy, was respecting the necessity of preserving the purity of the marriage state, and prohibiting divorce, excepting, as the Gospel teaches, on account of fornication. It was resolved that such a general synod be held every year, this being the first held among the clergy of the heptarchy.

The last province which received Christianity was kingdom of Northumberland. Cornwall was conquered by Athelstaa, A. D. 936: but the Welsh, in a great measure, maintained their independence until the reign of Henry II.; although at times compelled to pay tribute, which they did to Edwin and Oswy, and afterwards to Edgar:

that of the South Saxons, including Sussex, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire; and its introduction was, by means of Wilfrid, the bishop of York, who having displeased his sovereign, the Northumbrian king, was expelled his dominions; and now returning to Britain, after wandering in various parts abroad, betook himself into the territory of the South Saxons. Edilwalch, the king of that nation, had long before been baptized at the persuasion of the Mercian King Wulfere, to whom he seems to have been tributary. His queen had also made profession of the Christian Faith; but the whole province was hitherto involved in heathen darkness: and Wilfrid found the inhabitants at first exceedingly perverse; but, by adopting proper means, he gradually gained their esteem, and they paid attention to his preaching and admonitions. The country was grievously afflicted with famine, to such a degree that many threw themselves over the rocks into the sea. But the people no sooner embraced Christianity, than the seasons became favourable; the fields were covered with verdure, and the land was filled with plenty. The bishop also taught them an improved method of fishing; and thus made himself useful in promoting their temporal as well as their spiritual welfare, which could not fail of being productive of a salutary effect in softening the minds of a rude people, and inducing them to attend more cheerfully to the spiritual advice of the man of God. These traits of humanity and condescension reflect honour on the character of these Saxon missionaries, and raise them to a rank in our estimation, beyond what any titles could confer upon them.

The religion of Christ, although attended with certain superstitious rites, in the propagation of it among the Anglo-Saxons, soon shewed itself superior to Paganism, in its ameliorating influence on the community. The reflections of the elegant Anglo-Saxon historian are so

appropriate, that I beg leave to make use of them, now that I am drawing towards the close of the religious history of ancient Britain.

“How long the Saxon Paganism continued among individuals in each district, after it ceased to be the religious establishment of the government, there are no materials for ascertaining. It was too irrational to have maintained a long contest with Christianity: but though it may have ceased to have its temples and priests, or any visible existence; yet the influence of its prejudices, and of the habits it had generated, continued long to operate. These became insensibly mixed with so much of Christianity as each understood; and produced that motley character in religion and morals, which was so often displayed in the Anglo-Saxon period.

“But Christianity was a positive benefit to the nation in every degree of its prevalence. Wherever it has penetrated it has appeared like the guardian angel of the human race, meliorating the heart, and enlightening the understanding.

“Every part of its moral system is directed to soften the asperities of the human character; to remove its selfishness; to restrain its malignity; and to animate its virtues. If it did not eradicate all the vices of the individual by whom it was professed, it taught him to abandon many. It exhibited to the contemplation of all the idea of what human nature ought to be, and may attain. It gradually implanted a moral sense in the bosom of all its converts, and taught the mind the habit of moral reasoning, and its application to life. It could not be known, unless some portion of literature was attained or diffused. It, therefore, actually introduced learning into England; and taught the Anglo-Saxons to cultivate intellectual pursuits.”

As the defects attached to certain systems and modes

of faith have been too generally charged by infidels upon Christianity itself, it is wise to distinguish between the Gospel, in its genuine purity, and what human weakness may blend with it. "These defects," Mr. Turner observes, "were the faults of the system into which Christianity was distorted, not of the religion inculcated by the Scriptures. Monkish Christianity was not apostolic Christianity. We are certainly taught to make religion the governing principle of life; but not the exclusive principle. Formed by its Divine Author to influence and to adorn every class of society, Christianity mixes gracefully with all our becoming pleasures, and most usefully with all our necessary business. It forbids only those gratifications and pursuits which cannot be indulged without debasing ourselves, or injuring others. It is not the gloomy ascetic fasting into atrophy in the solitude of a desert; nor the melancholy or misanthropic monk, consuming life into delirious mortifications, or internal conflicts. Its discipline is the tuition of parental tenderness, only exacting of us to unite our happiness with virtue. The system which the Papal hierarchy established in England and in Europe, was an attempt to transfer the government of the world into the hands of ecclesiastics, under the name of Christianity, but by a complete departure from its spirit and precepts."

The religion of Christ, when clearly understood and cordially embraced, exalts the human character to the highest degrees of moral excellence; but as there are few individuals who submit themselves entirely to its influence, we cannot rationally expect that the forms of Christianity will have so powerful an effect upon a whole community, as to liberate them from the entire prevalence of superstition, folly, and vice. This reasoning is still more applicable to that imperfect Christianity promulgated by the Roman clergy.

CHAPTER XVI.

State of the church in the eighth century. Conduct of Wilfrid—Ina—Roderick of Wales, and the Northumbrian Alcfrid,—Alcuin, and Bede. Concluding reflections.

WE have now extended our history to that period when the Christian religion became generally received by the Saxons, Picts, and Scots, as well as the ancient Britons of the South. While we thus trace the external triumphs of Christian forms over Pagan worship and Pagan ceremonies, it is a considerable abatement of our satisfaction that the Christianity of that age was so deeply tinctured with superstition. By the conclusion of the sixth century the reign of Antichrist became general over the churches of Christendom, although the bishop of Rome did not, at this early period, assume all his blasphemous titles.

We are not disposed to conduct the reader through all the dark night of error; the gloom of which was cheered, it is true, with the writings and exertions of a few illustrious characters, among whom was Bede, the ecclesiastical historian, who has justly been stiled The Venerable: yet, when so estimable and learned a man was so strongly imbued with credulity and superstition,

what must have been the state of the community at large?

From the first coming over of Augustine until the time of *Wilfrid*, the power of Rome had not gained complete ascendancy; but when that prelate presumed to appeal to the pope against the decision of his sovereign, as well as his clerical brethren at home; from that time the power of the pope to controul kings in the appointment of ecclesiastical dignities began to be assumed.

Ina, the king of *Wessex*, distinguished himself as a brave prince, and as a wise legislator: *Roderick the Great* reigned in Wales as his coeval and rival. But the ornament of that age (from A. D. 684 to A. D. 705) was *Alcfrid*, king of Northumbria; a prince not inferior in personal endowments to *Alfred the Great*, of the ninth century. But even with so amiable a master as the Northumbrian prince, the haughty *Wilfrid* contended; endeavouring to gain his point by the power of the pope, although in opposition to *Theodore*, the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as King *Alcfrid*. The monarch, uniting moderation with firmness, at length prevailed over the obstinacy of *Wilfrid*, who was making himself the prototype of Dunstan and Thomas à Becket. Being restored to his bishopric, he again fell under the displeasure of the king, and the disapprobation of the bishops; but, when expelled from his diocese, he made a second appeal to Rome, where it was decided that he ought not to have been expelled from his charge. *Alcfrid* refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope in this instance: but, dying soon after, his son and successor, *Osrid*, having convened a synod of his clergy, consented, agreeably to their advice, to admit *Wilfrid* to his former dignity. He was now become an old man; and in four years after his reinstatement he died.

Wilfrid was an ambitious prelate, and lived in great

pomp and luxury, which caused his rival, Theodore, perhaps to be jealous of him; while he alleged, with justice, that seeing one prelate could be maintained so sumptuously, the diocese ought to be divided, and more bishops appointed. But this proposal met with that determined opposition from Wilfrid that embittered the king against him. But Wilfrid, as well as Theodore, was a liberal promoter of literature: a copy of the four gospels, written in letters of the purest gold, upon leaves of parchment, purpled in the ground, and coloured variously upon the surface, was presented by the prelate to the church of Rippon, which, as well as the stately church of Hexham, was erected by him.

Of the dedication of the former of these churches, we have the following splendid account, in an ancient writer referred to by Gale: "In the year 670, he built a minster of polished stone, from the foundations in the earth to the summit of the whole; reared it upon various pillars; raised it high, and completed it. When the house was finished he invited, against the day of the dedication, the *most Christian kings*, Ecgfrid and Elwin, brothers; with the abbots, prefects, subreguli, and all the persons of dignity, who all convened at the church. He consecrated the house to the Lord, by dedicating it to St. Peter; he dedicated the altar and its pediments to the Lord; covered it with purple, interwoven with threads of gold; and completed all by administering the eucharist there to the persons present. He also commanded jewellers to bind all the books in the church's library, gild them with the purest gold, and emboss them with the costliest gems." *Whitaker's Cornwall*, Vol. I.

The successor of Bishop Wilfrid adorned his see at York with a numerous collection of books, which *Alcuin*, who lived in the latter part of the eighth century, enumerates in Latin verse. On the subject of ancient li-

braries Mr. Whitaker has some curious remarks in his History of the Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall.* After noticing what Leland says, that he employed several days at the monastery of St. Alban's, in order to extract some notes of the antiquities of Britain from the treasures of its celebrated library, he observes, that William of Malmsbury expressly informs us of conventual churches, "in which were contained *from ancient days* libraries stocked with a number of books, but burnt with their books by the Danes. We even observe books brought into England for sale, as early as the year 705. So early as that century too (the eighth) we see learning to have been prosecuted more successfully in England than in France; at York than at Tours. Then did the archbishop's library at York accordingly contain within it the fathers, Greek and Latin; the Latin and Greek classics, the commentators, the grammarians and moderns; all collected in journies on the continent; and, as far as we can judge," adds our learned antiquary, "from a *poetical* catalogue of it, the oldest catalogue perhaps existing in all the regions of literature, certainly the oldest existing in England; yet drawn up at the very time by a first rate scholar, of a name still retained in the North, Alcuin, or Alkin. TROGUS POMPEIUS, that Augustan writer of an universal history, in five and forty volumes, was preserved in this library, as he is expressly specified in this catalogue."

The catalogue, as Alcuin himself says, contained the choicest pieces of scholastic literature, which either were procured through the industry of his preceptor, or through his own care and diligence; Ethelbert, master of the school at York, afterwards archbishop of the see,

* Vol. II. p. 330.

having formed the library, and leaving it at his death to Alcuin, his learned disciple. The catalogue itself Mr. Whitaker gives from Gale.

Illic invenies veterum vestigia patrum
 Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe
 Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis;
 Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno,
 Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit—

 Historici veteres, POMPEIUS, Livius ipse;
 Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens—

 Quæ Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus, et auctor
 Artis grammaticæ, vel quid scripsere magistri,
 Quid Probus, atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusve
 Servius, Euricius, Pompeius, Comminianus, &c.

Venerable Bede, the greatest ornament of his age and nation, died in the year 735, at his monastery at Monk Wearmouth, in the county of Durham; or, rather, at that of *Girwy*, or *Iarrow*, on the banks of the Tine, below *Gateshead*. He had enjoyed the honour of being one of the disciples of Theodore, the primate, as well as of John, bishop of Hexham, called John of Beverley, by whom he was admitted to the order of deacon, and afterwards to that of priest. His learning was great, and his compositions were numerous and useful, so that his celebrity has been acknowledged both at home and abroad.

The reliques of *Bede* were translated from *Iarrow* to Durham, by a priest of the name of *Elfrid*, and deposited by those of *St. Cuthbert*. It is said of him in the inscription over his tomb, in the church of St. Mary, that “ Though born in an obscure corner of the world, “ he, by his knowledge, enlightened the whole universe; “ for he searched the treasures of all divine and human

“ learning, as those volumes of his, so well known to
 “ the Christian world, abundantly testify.—He had se-
 “ veral scholars of celebrated characters, and who shortly
 “ after became bright luminaries of the church; such
 “ were *Alcuin*, preceptor of *Charles the Great*, and
 “ *Claudius* and *Clemens*, who first taught at Paris, and
 “ enlightened France with the knowledge of useful
 “ literature.”

During the ages which followed, there were not want-
 ing some great characters, who shined as bright constel-
 lations, during the night of superstition that overspread
 these islands, along with the rest of the world; when
 Popery overwhelmed the churches of the western, as
 Mohammedanism spread over the eastern world. We
 might descant with rapture on the great and amiable
 qualities of an ALFRED, the boast of England, the
 brightest of her monarchs; while a Cambrian may be
 allowed to state, that his learned preceptors, *John* and
Asserius, received, in a seat of learning in Wales, those
 bright endowments, which qualified them to render such
 important service to their royal pupil; who attained the
 first rank among scholars, while he was one of the
 greatest princes in the world.

The reader may contrast the reign of INA, of ALFRED,
 or of EDGAR, with that of GEORGE THE THIRD; and
 he may consult the history of the ages that elapsed be-
 tween:—the midnight of ignorance; the dawn of the re-
 formation; the exertions of WICKLIFF, of LUTHER, and
 of CRANMER; the abolition of the seats of superstition;
 the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular
 tongues; and the triumphs of civil, intellectual, and reli-
 gious freedom. He may lament the discordant senti-
 ments among Protestants; or the infidelity of too many
 brought up within the bosom of the church: but still he
 will be grateful to heaven that his lot is cast in such an

age as that in which we live, and in such a country. **BRITAIN** is become the **JERUSALEM** of modern times, from whence the Word of God is to be sent forth to the remotest regions; and in particular we must send back to the East that gospel which first came from thence, to visit this once obscure and dark corner of the earth.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

ANTIQUITIES OF ST. ALBAN'S.

THE present town of *St. Alban's* owes its celebrity to the abbey and church raised in honour of the proto-martyr of Britain: its situation is rather different from the ancient city of *Verolamium*, the famous Roman municipium, which, at one time, was the greatest town in Britain; having been the royal seat of Cassivelaunus, and the princes of the Cassii. The martyrdom of *St. Alban* here, and of *Amphibalus*, at *Redburne*, in the vicinity, cast a gloom over the Christian church; while the Pagan magistrates caused an inscription to be made on a marble tablet, which was inserted in the walls of the city, to evince the triumph of Paganism over Christianity. This was afterwards removed by the British Christians; and an inscription, in honour of the martyr, was placed in the stead of it, as appears from that ancient narrative mentioned by Ussher, which we shall presently notice.

In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1759, a curious representation is given of the martyrdom of a British saint; taken from a piece of carved work, then extant in an old

chapel at Wakefield. The martyr is exhibited roasting alive over a fire; and while exposed to the tortures of that dreadful situation, an executioner stands by with a knife in his hand ready to cut open his bowels. Four figures appear habited like public officers. The writer of the memoir which accompanies the drawing, states it as his opinion that the martyrdom of *Amphibalus* is there designed.

An oratory, or chapel, was erected in honour of the martyr, without the walls of Verolam; and Gildas complains that in his age the Pagan-Saxons were in possession of the sacred spot containing the remains of the pious Alban. But when the Saxons embraced the Christian Faith, they paid the same reverence to the memory of that saint and martyr, as the Britons had done; who followed the practice of the Christians in other countries, in erecting magnificent churches in honour of the martyrs.

The greatness and celebrity of ancient Verolam appears to have been first obscured in consequence of the wars between the Britons and the Saxons; so that by the time of the erection of the monastery its glory was departed for ever. The desolate state of this famous municipium, as it appeared in the tenth century, is exhibited by Matthew Paris. We are informed by that historian, that Ealdred, who was the eighth abbot, and wished to erect a handsome church to be dedicated to St. Alban; “employed workmen to ransack the subterraneous caverns of the old city, which the Saxons called *Werlamcester*; and then overturned and filled up all. But the rough broken places, and the streets, with the passages running under ground, and covered over with solid arches (some of which passed the water of the river Werlam, which was at one time very large, and flowed about the city); he pulled down, filled up, or stopped,

because they were the lurking holes of thieves, night-walkers, and whores: he levelled also the fosses of the city, and certain caverns, to which felons and fugitives repaired, as places of shelter from the thick woods around.” “Such was then,” says Mr. Whitaker, “the state of Verulam; and such it had then been for four centuries: the church of St. Alban, all the while, standing solitary upon its adjoining hill, and from the woody height of its own *Holm-hurst* commanding all the mournful scene of desolation! Yet the town of St. Alban’s grew up from a population invited there from the neighbouring country, by the Abbot Ulsin. Eadmer, the ninth abbot, employing men to ransack those ruins again, “in the midst of the ancient city they tore up the foundations of a great place,” says the same historian; “and, while they were wondering at the remains of such large buildings, they found in a hollow repository of one wall, as in a small press, among some lesser books and rolls, an unknown volume of our book, which was not mutilated by its long continuance there; of which neither the *letters* nor the *dialect*, from their *antiquity*, were *known to any who could then be found*; but the inscriptions and titles in it shone resplendent in letters of gold; and the boards of oak, in which the volume was bound, and the silken strings, retained their original strength and beauty. When enquiry had been industriously made, very far and wide, concerning the notices in this book, at last they found one priest, aged and decrepit, a man of great erudition, UNWON by name, who being skilled in different languages, both as to idiom and character, (*imbutus diversorum idiomatum linguis ac literis*) read the writing of the before-mentioned book distinctly and openly. In the same manner he read without hesitation, and he explained without difficulty, notices in other books that were found in the same room, and within the same press:

*for the letters were such as used to be written at the time when Verulam was inhabited; and the dialect was that of the ancient Britons then used by them.** There were some things in the other books written in Latin, but these were not curious: and in the *first* book, the greater one, of which I have made mention before, he found written THE HISTORY OF ST. ALBAN, the Protomartyr of the English; *which the church, at this very day, recites and reads;* to which that excellent scholar, Bede, lends his testimony, differing in nothing from it. That book, in which the history of St. Alban was contained, was repositied with the greatest regard in the treasury of the abbey; and exactly as the aforesaid presbyter read the book *written in the ancient English or British dialect*, with which he was well acquainted, Abbot Eadmer caused it to be faithfully and carefully set down by some of the wiser brethren in the convent; and then more fully taught in the public teachings. But when the history was thus made known (as before related) to several, by being translated into Latin, the primitive and original work fell to pieces, and was soon reduced irrecoverably to dust."

I shall here subjoin Mr. Whitaker's remarks: "This," says that lively and ingenious writer, "is a most curious, amusing, and striking discovery, exhibiting a little scene of Herculaneum, by an anticipation of some centuries to our eyes. It shews also the amazing ignorance of the British language which, at this period, prevailed close to the very walls of that celebrated capital of a British nation; and the still more amazing knowledge, perhaps,

* Matthew Paris, from whom this account is taken, was evidently of the opinion that the ancient Britons had a character as well as a language of their own: it appears also that the language of Rome had not brought the British into disuse, even at *Verulam*, their principal town.

in one Divine, amidst such a general ignorance concerning that language. But it equally shews the knowledge to have continued in one or more to, or nearly to, the very days of Bede (*in the eighth century*); as he had procured a translation of it, or a similar work, from the British, two or three ages before this discovery of the manuscript,* a translation "differing in nothing from it;" as the English, when reclaimed to Christianity, adopted St. Alban, the Protomartyr of the Britons, for the Protomartyr of the English too; and as the history of St. Alban, which had been recited and read in the church of the Britons, assuredly became equally recited and read in that of the Saxons also. And it still more clearly proves the martyrdom of St. Alban to have been written originally at the moment of restored Christianity, when the memory of St. Alban's townsmen still retained faithfully upon its waxen tablets, all that they themselves had seen of the sufferings of St. Alban a few years before."†

OFFA, the Mercian king, was the founder of this abbey, which became afterwards so famous as to obtain the first rank; the mitred Abbot of St. Alban's taking precedence of all in England, even of the venerable Glastonbury itself. The riches of this institution may be conceived from what Matthew Paris mentions of a Saxon Abbot of St. Alban's, who, during a general famine, laid out in relieving the poor "the treasure, long before reserved for the fabrication of the church; with the vessels of gold and silver, belonging to his own table, as well as to the church; retaining only some precious

* From the account of the martyrdom of Alban, given by Anonymus, supposed to be the same document here referred to, it appears that when that writer drew up his account, the persecution raged so violently that he was afraid of giving his real name.

† See Whitaker's Cornwall, Vol. II. p. 66.

gems, for which he did not find purchasers, and some noble engraved stones, which we commonly call *cameos*; of which a great part was reserved for decorating the shrine of St. Alban, when it should be framed."

The abbey, founded by King Offa, had no other church than that formerly erected by the Roman Britons, which Matthew Paris terms "an old edifice erected formerly out of the ancient edifices of the heathens," because of its being a Roman structure, and perhaps originally a heathen temple. This was that very edifice, doubtless, respecting which, among others of the same design, Gildas complains that they were taken from the Britons by their Pagan enemies, but not destroyed. "This church of St. Alban," says Whitaker, "actually survived the heathenism, as well as the hostility, of the Saxons; became a celebrated church among them upon their conversion to Christianity; and still bore its original name from the Protomartyr of Britain. The fact appears so late as the eighth century, and the days of Bede; because that historian gives us a particular account of St. Alban's martyrdom; and speaks of his church as then existing, as "a church of wonderful workmanship, worthy of such a martyr." This church consequently lasted to the days of Offa's visit to Verulam, in 790: and this was the church which, in one hundred and fifty years afterwards, the Abbot Ealdred was anxious to take down and build anew; and for this purpose the historian says, "that he laid up those materials which he found among the ruins of Verulam, suitable for such a design." But "when he had collected a great quantity of materials for the fabric of the church, he was prevented by an over-early death, and obliged to leave the work undone." Eadmer, the succeeding abbot, was not able to accomplish what his predecessors had projected. But this design was executed

by one *Paul*, who, at the conquest, was made Abbot; for he rebuilt the church and its appurtenances out of the materials collected and preserved by his predecessors, under the patronage of his near relation, Lanfranc, the archbishop.

In this renovated edifice, Mr. Whitaker, after a most critical investigation of the variety of style, exhibited in the different parts, discerns, in the elegant Norman structure, the designs of the Abbot *Paul*; and in the other parts the remains of the original fabric, of which Bede speaks in the seventh century, previous to the founding of the monastery by King Offa. "The rudeness of the plain parts, and the elegance of the beautiful, serve respectively to prove, in union with history, the posterior and prior parts of the whole."

Here then, in this elegant church, may be seen some parts of one of the sacred edifices, erected by the Roman Christians in Britain, soon after the Dioclesian persecution, under the patronage, in all probability, of the Emperor Constantius. At Canterbury, Augustine met with a church dedicated to St. Martin. Several others, doubtless, there were in various parts of the island; and tradition speaks particularly of some of them, as St. Peter's, Cornhill; St. Paul's, in London, &c.: but either they have been succeeded by modern structures, or else they have not even left a wreck behind. This is the more singular, as the situation of heathen temples, of course, prior to churches, are, in many instances, to be traced.

The abbey of St. Alban's rose to that degree of splendour, after the Norman conquest, as to vie with the Bishops' Sees: and the mitred abbot obtained the first seat among those of his order in the house of peers,

II.

GLASTONBURY.

WE have stated our reasons for discrediting the monkish tales respecting Joseph of Arimathea being the apostle of Britain, while, at the same time, we are willing to admit the great antiquity of that sacred spot. The British traditions state that *Elvan*, who lived in the time of *Lucius*, the Silurian chieftain, collected a congregation in the island of Avalon, or Glastonbury, which was afterwards, when monachism began to prevail among the ancient British Christians, called *BANGOR WYDRIN*. In one of the Triads, the Isle of Avalon is said to be one of the three grand choirs which contained, in each of them, 2400 devout persons; but that Triad does not appear very ancient. Glastonbury was considered a place of some sanctity before the coming over of the Saxons, by whom, after the victories of *Kerdic*, the devout persons, who resided there, were dispersed. The founder of the abbey, which afterwards became so famous, and which the Anglo-Norman monks endeavoured to extol as the mother-church of all Britain, was *INA*, king of the West Saxons.* That king was not only a great warrior and wise legislator, but behaved with great liberality to the church; and one of his devout actions was the founding and endowing of Glastonbury monastery, in the year 721. By the time of *Alfred*, in the following century, it was considered to

* In one of the copies of *Caradoc of Llancarvan's History of the Welsh Princes*, *Ivor*, the successor of *Cadwalader*, is said to have founded the monastery of Avalon, in 683, after the victory he obtained over the Saxons.

be a place of that dignity and importance, that Alfred made his friend and preceptor, Asserius, the abbot of it. But whatever celebrity it may have attained in those ages, there appears to have been no knowledge of St. Joseph of Arimathea, as the apostle of Britain, extant in the age of *Ina*; although the expressions of the charter of that king are sufficiently pompous and lofty. It is there notified that the king, being desirous of restoring "the ancient church in that spot, called *Glasteye*," (which formerly had been dedicated, by Christ himself, to the Blessed Virgin, as was revealed to St. David, &c.) devoted for the use of the monks certain manors there named, with power given them to elect a rector, or abbot, to govern them according to the rule of St. Benedict. That church is there stated to be "the origin and fountain of all religion in the kingdom of Britain; and, therefore, proper to be regarded as of the highest rank." But the language of that pretended document has great appearance of being a later composition, at least as it respects the concluding expressions:—*Quatenus ecclesia Domini nostri Jesu Christi et perpetuæ Virginis Mariæ, sicut in regno Britannia est prima et fons et origo totius religionis, ita et in ipsâ supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem; nec ulli omnino hominum ancillare obsequium faciat in terris, quæ super choros angelorum dominatur in cælis, &c.*

King Edgar enlarged the revenues of Glastonbury, and gave the monks the prerogative of being exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Wells: declaring "that as the church dedicated there to the Blessed Virgin was always deemed worthy of the highest rank within his kingdom; so he wished to confer upon it as a special mark of honour, that it should be free from all exterior jurisdiction." But allowing all to be genuine and unsophisticated, which Malmsbury and others give

as the forms of the charters granted by the Saxon kings, there is not, as Archbishop Ussher observes, any thing in them that has any regard to Joseph of Arimathea, of whose connexion with Glastonbury we hear nothing, until after the Norman conquest.

The following statement shews the lavish liberality of King Ina, towards the abbey of Glastonbury:—He caused a chapel (or shrine) to be formed of silver and gold, with ornaments and vases equally gold and silver; and placed it within the great church of Glastonbury; delivering two thousand six hundred and forty pounds of silver for forming the chapel; as the altar was two hundred and sixty-four pounds of gold; the chalice and patten, of ten pounds of gold; the censer, eight pounds and twenty mancuses of gold; the candlesticks, twelve pounds and a half of silver; *the coverings of the books of the gospel*, twenty pounds and sixty mancuses of gold; the water vessels and other vases of the altar, seventeen pounds of gold. There was also an image of our Lord, and of the Virgin Mary, and images of the twelve apostles, of a hundred and seventy-five pounds of silver, and thirty-eight pounds of gold; the apostles being in silver, but our Lord and the Virgin Mary in gold. The pall for the altar, and the ornaments for the priests, being artfully woven on both sides with gold and precious stones.—*Whitaker's Cornwall*, Vol. II. p. 291.

The ignorance, as well as the indolence, of the monks of the middle ages, has been a very common theme of declamation: but this, like other general charges, ought to weigh little until properly scrutinized. The large and curious libraries found in the monasteries, at the dissolution, in the reign of King Henry VIII., prove that, at one time, there were learned and curious men pertaining to those institutions. Leland, in his account of the different monasteries, describes that venerable depository

of literature, the magnificent library of Wells, as a fine large room, "having twenty-five windows on each side of it." The same laborious investigator of the treasures of antiquity says that, wishing to clear up a point pertaining to his researches, he entered the library of Wells, of which he affirms, "that it had been formerly furnished with no small number of books, in a very magnificent manner, by the bishops and canons of that city;" here he found "immense treasures of venerable antiquity." But this does not equal what he says of Glastonbury: "Some years ago I was at Glastonbury, where there is an abbey at once the most ancient and the most famous in all our island; and, by the favour of the abbot, refreshed my mind, after its fatigue from long and laborious studies, till some new ardour for reading and learning should inflame me. This ardour came sooner than I expected: I, therefore, went immediately to *the library*, which was not accessible to every body, that there I might very carefully turn over those remains of the most sacred antiquity, which are there in such numbers as are hardly to be found any where else in Britain. But scarce had I entered the door-way, when even the view alone of the very ancient books threw a religious awe over my mind, or rather raised up a wild astonishment in it; and I, therefore, stopt short awhile. Then, after a salutation to the genius of the room, for some days I ransacked the shelves with great curiosity."—"This," observes Mr. Whitaker, who has furnished me with the extract, "is the finest compliment that ever was paid to a library by a man of genius and learning; nor could the Bodleian, or the Vatican, ever receive a finer than what is thus paid to a library merely monastic."

The famous Dunstan, who was born A. D. 925, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, when a student at Glastonbury, was a sedulous cultivator of literature;

and well had it been for him and the English nation had he continued to cherish no other ambition than that of distinguishing himself as a scholar. Dunstan was not only versed in the best writings of the ancients, but devoted a good deal of his time to geometrical and astronomical studies, which were little attended to in that age. He was of a lively and penetrating genius, intense in his applications to his studies, and possessed of a prompt and polished eloquence.

Dunstan's first efforts to excel in learning were promoted by some Irish scholars, settled at the monastery, who were teaching the liberal studies to the children of the nobility. To these ecclesiastics Dunstan, who was a native of the vicinity, attached himself; and he soon profited by their instructions, and exploring their books. The literary character of this extraordinary man, who, by his talents and address, was elevated to the height of ecclesiastical preferment, is well and elegantly drawn by Mr. Turner.

The first part of his life was a laborious cultivation of mind; and he seems to have attained all the knowledge to which it was possible for him to gain access. He mastered such of the mathematical sciences as were then taught; he excelled; he accomplished himself in writing, painting, and engraving; he acquired also the manual skill of working in gold and silver, and even copper and iron. These arts had not, at that day, reached any pre-eminent merit; but it was uncommon that one man should practise himself in all. To have excelled his contemporaries in mental pursuits, in the fine arts, though then imperfectly practised, and in mechanical labours, is evidence of an activity of intellect, and an ardour for improvement, which proclaim him to have been a superior personage, whose talents might have blessed the world."

Such was the man who, afterwards, in order to raise

himself to power, to be actual governor of both church and state, became the promoter of rebellion. Dunstan had a principal hand in the degradation of King Edwin: and by the influence of this abbot and his party Edgar, the brother of the deposed sovereign, was raised to the throne; and Dunstan soon attained the primacy. The monks then gained that ascendancy which they maintained until the Reformation.

III.

CAERLEON.

THE description of Geraldus is contained in his Itinerary, c. 5. where his own words run thus:—*Dicitur autem Caerleon urbs legionum; Caer enim Britannicæ urbs vel castrum dicitur: solent quippe legiones à Romanis in insulam transmissæ ibi hyemare, et inde URBS LEGIONUM dicta est. Erat autem hæc urbs antiquæ et autentica, et à Romanis olim coctilibus muris egregiè constructa. Videas hic multa pristinæ nobilitatis adhuc vestigia: palatia immensa aureis olim tectorum fastigiis Romanos fastus imitantia, eo quod à Romanis principibus primò constructa et edificiis egregiis illustrata fuissent; turrim giganteam; thermas insignes; templorum reliquias, et loca theatralia muris egregiis partim adhuc extantibus, omnia clausa. Reperies ubique tam intra murorum ambitum quam extra, ædificia subterranea; aquarum ductus hypogeosque meatus; et quod inter alia notabile censui, stuphas undique videas miro artificio concertas, lateralibus quibusdam et præangustis spiraculis viis occultè calorem exhalantibus. Jacent hic duo nobiles, et post *Albanum* et *Amphibalum*, præcipui Britannicæ majoris protomartyres, et ibidem, martyrio coronati, *Julius* scilicet et *Aaron*, quorum uterque ecclesiam in urbe insignem habebat suo nomine decoratam. Tres enim egregiæ in hac urbe antiquis temporibus fuerunt ecclesiæ. Una *Julii* martyris virgineo Deo dicata regularium chora venustata; altera verò beati *Aaron* socii ejusdem nomine fundata, et canonicorum ordine præclaro nobilitata Tertiâ verò metropolitânâ sede *Cambricæ* totius insignita.*

Chapels dedicated to the memory of the two martyrs, Julian and Aaron, were confidently spoken of at the time in which Bishop Goodwin wrote, that is, in the beginning of the seventeenth century; the one was said to have stood in the east end of the town, and the other in the western end. Some have thought that the parish-church of *Llanharan Gam*, or *Llantarnam*, is corruptly so called, being originally dedicated to the martyr, Aaron, and called *Llan Aaron*. *Gibson's Camden*, and *Whitaker's Cornwall*.

The fine situation of this old Roman town, its navigable river, so contiguous to the Bristol channel, the fertility of the surrounding country, and its copious supply of timber, rendered it an important station before Bristol rose into notoriety. It might still have continued to retain a name of some celebrity, if the town of *Newport* had not started up to obscure it about the time of the Norman conquest: the improvements lately made in the latter place, in consequence of the coal and iron trade there carried on, promise to raise it to a place of celebrity in the country.

The various Roman antiquities found at *Caerleon* confirm the opinion that it really was a place of some eminence during the period that Britain was occupied by the Romans: but that the ancient *Isca Silurum*, (or *Civitas legionis secundæ*) took in a compass of nine miles; that it was the third city in Britain, &c. we may, with propriety, hesitate to admit; for it must not be compared, when in all its glory, either with *CAMULODUNUM*, *EBORACUM*, *VEROLAM*, or, perhaps, *VENTA BELGARUM*. The most we can say is, that it was at one time the capital of *Britannia Secunda*, which comprehended the present North and South Wales, with part of Herefordshire and Shropshire. *Cuerwent* being so near a place of some consideration, rather diminishes that su-

perstitious idea of the vastness of the ancient Caerleon. With the exception of London, it may be perhaps said that, of all the great Roman-British towns, YORK alone maintains any degree of its ancient magnificence.

Caerleon is celebrated as being the seat of King Arthur and the Silurian princes, or the Lords of Gwent, who made a valiant stand against the growing power of the Saxons. Without the walls, in a field pertaining to Miss Morgan, we discern a large oval concavity, known by the name of *Arthur's Round Table*; and this, in all probability, was the site of the Roman amphitheatre, and measures 74 yards by 64; and must, therefore, have been a sumptuous edifice of that kind. Of the gigantic tower, or *arx speculatoria*, the trace is to be seen in that fine eminence, called the TUMP. Miss Morgan's house was once a Cistercian Abbey, and probably one of the religious houses mentioned by Geraldus. The suburbs of the old city, as it is said, extended considerably on the south side of the river as far as Christ Church, and in a different direction as far as St. Julian's, where some vestige may still be traced of an ancient chapel, dedicated to the martyr of that name. The old mansion was once occupied by that singular character, Lord Herbert, of Cherbury.

The parish church is dedicated to St. Cadoc, or Cat-toc; and the commanding aspect of Christ Church fancy may suppose to have been the site of the metropolitan church of Cambria: but it is very questionable whether Caerleon was ever honoured with a cathedral, Landaff being esteemed the most sacred spot in all that country. As it was common for the principal city to be the seat of the metropolitan bishop, it has been taken for granted that the capital of *Britannia Secunda*, as entitled to that honour, did, accordingly, enjoy it.

King Arthur is said, in the Triads, to have had three

royal seats, whereof the first and principal was at *Caerleon*, and the others, that at *Penryn*, in Cumberland, and *Gelliwyg*, in Cornwall. This last was, in all probability, no other than *Pendennis* castle, near to which is a house called *Tre-Kyning*, situated near a moor; which formerly tradition reports to have been covered with wood, which accords with the import of the Welsh name, *Gelliwyg*. The moor is called *Gosse*, an old Cornish word for a wood; and there it is said Arthur was used to hunt; and a remarkable stone may be seen there, called a *Coyt*, or a sort of *Cromlech*. “Not far from that *Coyt*, at the edge of the Goss Moor, there is, says a Cornish antiquary, a large stone, wherein is deeply imprinted a mark, as if it had been the impression of four horse-shoes, and is to this day called *King Arthur’s stone*. Yea, tradition tells us, they were made by King Arthur’s horse’s feet when he resided at Castle Dennis, and hunted in the Goss Moor.”

IV.

ANTIQUITIES OF LLAN-ILTUT, OR LANTWIT MAJOR :

[EXTRACTED from a paper in Williams's History of Monmouthshire, drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Nicolls, in 1792, and transcribed by Mr. Edward Williams, the Bard.]

In the *Liber Landavensis* (a very old manuscript) we find many accounts of the abbots of Lantwit, and of the school there founded by St. Ilutus. It was the university, as we may call it, of this part of Britain, during its continuance, which was till the time of the Norman conquest. We do not find any mention of the time when it became extinct: but we may well think that it remained until the Reformation; for there was a school, of time out of mind, then at *Lantwit*, for educating youth in Latin learning and logic, that was maintained by a portion of the church profits, and by the abbot's rents, that were sold to one of my ancestors, and in whose family they still remain. When these rents and other incomes of tithes and pastures were sold, the school ceased, to the loss of the place.—The ruins of the school of St. Ilutus are to be seen at this day behind the church hard by; and the monastery, halls, and buildings, stood in a small field, west of the school, where some ruins are still apparent.

The book of Landaff says, that *Ilutus* was, by *Dubricius*, made abbot of a church, called from his name *Llanillut*, where he lived a very holy life of piety, charity, and learning, to a very great age; and that, besides good letters, he taught other good and useful arts, as those of husbandry, corn, culture, &c.

It appears from this book that *Ilutus* was called upon to offer up prayers, with Archbishop *Dubricius*, for the

pregnancy of *Anna*, wife of *Ammon*, (*who came over from Armorica*;) and that she bare a son accordingly, and he was taken out of the font, and baptized in *Llanillut*, by the name of *Samson*, (which was *Iltutus's* other name).* It is very likely that he was born there; for it was at *Llanillut* (at length so called before known by the name of *Caerurgorn* in Welsh, and *Bovium* in Latin) that the kings of *Glamorgan*, in that age, had their abode; and *Ammon* was a Grecian prince that lived in the king's family where he was married: but it is evident from his life that St. Samson was educated at the school of Iltutus from five years old; so that Lantwit is famous, if not for the birth, at least for the education, of this great archbishop. (Vide Lib. Land. in Vitâ St. Samson, Archiep. et Confess.)

In the year 560 (according to Sir Henry Spelman) a great assembly was held in the church of St. Iltutus, to conclude a peace between King *Morgant* and his uncle, *Trioc*. At this assembly attended *Oudoceus*, the third bishop of Landaff; *Congen*, or *Cyngan*, abbot of St. Cadoc, or Lancarvan; *Sulyen*, the abbot of Docunnus; and *Catgen*, the abbot of St. Iltutus. This king gave many gifts to the bishop and his churches; and the abbot of Lantwit signed them and others as men of great figure and consequence in the diocese.

Catgen, abbot of St. Iltutus, signs a great many gifts to the churches of Landaff; and of so great credit and weight was the abbot of this place, in the churches of Landaff, that he was one of those who elected *Oudoceus* to succeed *St. Teliaus* in the bishopric: it was the abbot of *Lanillut* that, when he returned from his consecration, confirmed him in all the privileges of his predecessors. Of so great reputation was the church and abbot of Lan-

* Samson rather appears to have been a successor of Iltutus.—J. H.

iltut in the churches of Landaff, that they had, as it seems to me, from many things that appear in the book of Landaff, the examination, the approbation, and the confirmation, of the bishop of Landaff, in his churches; or, at least, a leading power therein, as a matter and claim of prime right.

Many instances are adduced from the *Liber Landavensis*, in proof of the great power and influence of the abbot of Lancarvan;—and then the worthy writer of the paper I make use of, proceeds to state: In this very valuable manuscript, wherein all the lands that were given to the bishop are registered, the great abbots of *Llan-iltut*, with the abbots of *Carbani Vallis*, and of *Docunnus*, always appear as witnesses, as do they also in all synods for excommunications, or for making peace between kings, or making laws and good order for the country as well as for the church, where and when their judgments were always had, as well as the consent and approval of their particular churches, or congregations.

In this Landaff manuscript, which is above six hundred years old, and the first part yet much older, are to be found the names of many abbots of Laniltut, such as *Piro*, who succeeded Iltutus, and lived but one day; and after him came *Ifan*, a very holy man; and then *Kennith* related to *Piro*; after whom came Samson, the bishop of Laniltut monastery, and archbishop of Dôl, in Britany, who returned in his old age to his native place, and had the archbishopric of York, and afterwards of London.—N.B. Here is an error committed in confounding Samson, the son of Ammon, with Samson, the archbishop of York, the brother of Gildas. The abbots of Lantwit and Lancarvan are stiled bishops in the History of the Old British Saints.

In the time of Iltutus, his seminary was in such high repute, that it is said to have contained more than two

thousand students and holy men; and was the place where many sons of kings and nobles, both in this island and in Britany, were educated. An old MS. (adds my author) of Sir Edward Stradling's says, that the saints of Lantwit monastery had for their habitation four hundred houses, and seven halls; which must mean, I guess, that they lived in separate houses, like the common little dwellings there still remaining, and that they had seven large buildings for assembly, which were like our halls, or we may deem them colleges; for of these there could not be four hundred, nor likely the fourth part of a hundred: the want of this consideration caused Master Camden to pass over the account that Sir Edward Stradling gave him of Lantwit.

Dr. Nicholl still further subjoins, "that there is at Landaff a loose parchment, very decayed and rent; some parts of it rotten, and others worm-eaten. Very little can be read; but in it appear these names of the abbots of Lantwit; Iltutus, Piro, Ifanus, Cennit, Samson, Guorthaver, Congers, Elbod, Tomre, Gurhavel, Nudh, Elifer, Segin, Camelauc, Bletri, and many more that cannot be read. So old and decayed is this parchment, which I take to be some decree of a pope; or it may be some charter of a king to the abbot and church of *Lantwit*: some of these names, or what are much like, are among the bishops of *Landaff* in those days; and it is not unlikely that the abbots of *Lantwit*, who were famed for holiness and learning, should be chosen by the clergy, and their congregations, bishops of *Landaff*, and of other places; for who else could be so properly qualified? It is likely there were more abbots than those whose names are here, at Lantwit; for they were not chosen to this dignity until they were in years, as it did not become youth to rule over age. And on this way of counting we want more abbots to fill up the space of six hundred years;

for so long, I imagine, the monastery of Iltutus lasted : but the school limped along for many ages afterwards, still decaying more and more, till it lost what of its income remained, in the time of Henry VIII. ; for it does not appear that the school that was in his time put down at Lantwit, was any other than the worn out and spoiled school of Iltutus : *Sic transit gloria mundi.*”

It appears that deadly feuds at times crept in among the students and religious men at *Laniltut* ; and we find once upon such an occasion the interference of *Dubricius* was required :—*Vir beatæ memoriæ Dubricius visitavit locum Sti. Ilduti tempore quadragesimali ut quæ emendanda erant corrigeret (not conigeret) et servanda consolidet (corruptly written consolidant), ibidem enim conversabantur multi sanctissimi viri, quodam livore decepti, inter quos frater Samson morabatur, filius Amoni.*

The above interesting extracts afford some curious information relative to the ancient British seminary, which was as celebrated in the South, as the college of *Iona* afterwards became in the North, under Columba and his successors ; and from whence so many places were supplied with preachers and pastors.

A curious incident happened lately at Lantwit : some alteration and repairs being requisite in the Town Hall, the bell was taken down ; when, upon inspection, it was found to be the famous bell of St. Iltutus, so much revered during the reign of superstition, and supposed to be lost. The characters on this bell are something similar to the letters of Samson’s monument ; but if the inscription *SANCTE ILTUTE, ORA PRO NOBIS* be so ancient, as we may infer from the character ; praying to departed saints prevailed among our ancestors at an earlier period than we would be willing to admit.

V.

THE CORNISH CATHEDRAL.

As, according to the Triads, king Arthur had three courts, or chief residences, so we are told that the three metropolitan bishops had their sees, the one at Caerleon, as the primate of Wales; the second in Cornwall; and the third at Glasgow. Mr. Whitaker has taken great pains to prove that the cathedral of Cornwall was dedicated to ST. GERMAN, or HARMON, and that the see never was at Bodmin, but at the place still called by the name of ST. GERMAN. But it is rather singular, that the name of the bishop of Cornwall, in Arthur's time, was *Bedwini*, while *David* was primate of Wales, and *Kentigern* of the Strath Clyde Britons. There appears to be some affinity between the name of *Bedwini* and the name of the Cornish town, which was anciently called *Bodmini*, and *St. Padroc*, or *St. Pedroc de Bodwini*. May not *Bodmin*, or *Bodwin*, have taken its name from *Bedwini*, who, perhaps, was no other than *Pedroc* under another name; or, are we to suppose, that the name of the prelate mentioned in the Triads, gave rise to the mistake of the ancient episcopate having its seat at *Bodmin*? The coincidence of names in the present instance is striking: but I shall not undertake to solve the present difficulty; and only observe thus much, that there may, in ancient times, have been a considerable degree of rivalry between the priories of Bodmin and St. German's; and the sacredness of St. German's name at length gave that church the pre-eminence. Some of the ancient abbots and priors had every honour that could attach to the episcopal character, enjoying the same pre-eminence among the monastic clergy, that

the prelates had among the secular clergy. The abbot of St. Illutus, in Glamorgan, was of as great dignity and importance as the bishop of Landaff, his neighbour; the abbot of Glastonbury was of as high dignity as his proper diocesan, the bishop of Wells. Bodmin might have been, in very ancient times, the rival of St. German's; and it is not a matter of wonder that some antiquaries should be led to the conclusion that the old Cornish episcopate was seated at Bodmin.

We find this ancient prelate, *Bedwini*, referred to as the author of some wise and pious maxims, in verse: one of these occurs among some pieces of the sixth century:

A glyweisti a gant *Bedwini*
Oedd Escaub donyauc diffri
Racreithia dy eir kyn noi dodi.

Hast thou heard the verse of *Bedwini*,
Who was a gifted and a grave prelate?
“Weigh well thy words before they are uttered.”

VI.

WHITHERN.

WHITHERN, more anciently called LEUCOPHIBIA, was the capital of the tribe of the *Novantes*, who either were first converted to Christianity by *Nynian*, or restored from their relapse into Paganism. This country, between the two walls, being greatly harassed by the incursion of the Picts, *Nynian*, as I am disposed to conjecture, was carried away captive by that people, and during his captivity preached the gospel to them.

As to the name of *Candida Casa*, or *Whithern*, and Bede's affirmation, that it arose from "Nynian's construction of the church with stone, in a mode unusual among the Britons," there needs some elucidation. This is explained by William of *Malmesbury*, to signify that the church was built of polished stone; and, therefore, said to be something unusual among the Britons of Galloway. This does not satisfy Mr. Whitaker, although he might recollect that in the decline of the Roman power, and especially in that part of the island, there were few stone buildings erected by the natives. But, as what our antiquary states is ingenious, I lay it before the reader:—"Major, the Scottish historian, varies equally from Malmesbury as from Bede, but comes much nearer to a rational account of the name, by building Nynian's church of stones, unusual to the Britons, *because white*. But the fact is, that the stones of the cathedral, in the ruins of it, in the church erected at a small distance from it, and in the houses of the town constructed much out of the *palace* and the *priory*, the latter yet remaining in part, but the latter so torn up from the very foundations as to have corn growing upon

the site, appear to be principally of the sort called the common whin, and occasionally of the free, the free *partly white*, but *partly red*, the whin being neither white nor made white by polishing, and both supposed, at *Whithern*, to have been brought from the adjoining region of *Cumberland*. So egregiously does every hypothesis fail us in accounting for the name." What, then, is the solution of the difficulty? Why, Mr. Whitaker found it to be a customary thing among the people of Galloway, to *rough cast* their houses; that is, to mix up coarse sand with lime, and dash it upon the walls. This is commonly done in Cornwall, and in the south of Wales; where it is, indeed, usual with some of the inhabitants to whitewash the whole exterior of their houses and out-buildings, both roof and walls: but this practice he supposes to have been novel in the days of *Nynian*, and which he further assumes the good man to have seen first in Rome, while he studied there; and who, introducing it at *Leucophibia*, by applying the new mode to his own house, and then to the church, the practice being afterwards generally adopted, gave the name of *Ad Candidam Casam*, or *Whithern*, to the town.

The cathedral continued to the days of Bede, when the country became subject to the Saxons. The Saxon chronicle mentions the church and the mynster of *Nynian*; and the same edifice seems to have continued to the days of William of Malmesbury. This bishopric was eclipsed for a while by *Kentigern's see* at Glasgow; but in the Saxon times the prelate of *Candida Casa* was primate of that province: it afterwards declined, but Fordun speaks of it in 1235. Major, in the sixteenth century, says, that the place and body of the saint had for ages been in the possession of the Scots. But at the time of the Reformation, Leland speaks of it "as a handsome church, built of squared stones, and taking the

appellation of Whithern, which is even now the temple of Ninian, the capital city of Galloway.”*

The Presbyterian reformers, in the room of the cathedral, erected a new church, about eighty feet in length, with thirty in width ; “ even standing north and south, carrying a ball for a cross at each end above ;” and what was still more horrid, assuredly, “ having neither tower nor bell to it ! !”

After such a revolution, of which our episcopal antiquary speaks with indignant warmth, “ the cathedral,” as he proceeds to state, “ was left in all the dignity of despised grandeur ; like the ruins of Rome amid the pigmy sons of the world’s conquerors ; or, like the elegant magnificence of Palmyra, to the Arab pitching his tent for the night beneath it ; to suffer the devastations of time, to be shaken with the howling winds, and to be buffeted by the driving rains. It is traditionally said, however, to have been *four times as large* as the new church ; that is, as far as such vague and general mensurations can ascertain length or breadth, 320 feet long, with 120 broad, or about one-seventh short of Exeter cathedral at present. Yet a few rude vaults, in one of which I suppose St. Nynian to have been buried, though his tomb has perished with his church ; some coarse walls at a little distance, but both (I presume from their coarseness and rudeness), the very relics of the original church ; and eight arches, out of the whole of the original number, now compose the remains of this venerable cathedral.” Thus fell the glory of the cathedral of *Candida Casa*, one of the churches built by the Roman British Christians ; as to which, had it now been extant in all its ancient sublimity, it would not answer the purposes of Divine service as well to the people of Gallo-

* Whitaker’s Cornwall, Vol. II. p. 157.

way as the present edifice. Mr. Whitaker, perhaps, would feel equal indignation, was he made acquainted with the change effected in the cathedral of Glasgow ; the choir of which is divided, and two places of worship made out of the ancient church. But whatever objections an antiquary may feel to that kind of alteration, the greatest glory of a Christian temple is to see it filled with devout worshippers, while the word of God is there duly preached, and the prayers of the faithful ascend to heaven like grateful incense.

VII.

CONTROVERSY RESPECTING EASTER.

THE difference betwixt the adherents of the Pope and church of Rome, and our British ancestors, as to the keeping of Easter, is thus explained by archbishop Ussher. The Romans observed the memorial of our Lord's resurrection upon that Sunday, which fell betwixt the fifteenth and the twenty-first day of the moon, (both terms included), next after the twenty-first day of March, which they accounted to be the seat of the *vernal equinox*; that is to say, that time of the spring wherein the day and night were of equal length. In following the age of the moon they followed the Alexandrian cycle of *nineteen* years, (whence our golden number had its origin), as it was explained by *Dionysius Exiguus*, which is the account still observed among the Christians of *Greece*, *Russia*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, and *Æthiopia*. This was the calculation observed formerly in the church of England, and, what is now called the old style, which was changed in the last century, being the general account which all Christendom followed, as the primate observes, until the alteration made by Pope Gregory XIII. The northern *Irish* and *Scottish*, together with the *Picts*, observed the custom of the *Britons*; keeping their Easter on the Sunday that fell betwixt the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon; and following, in their account thereof, not the nineteen years' computation of Anatolius, but Sulpicius Severus's cycle of eighty-four years; for howsoever they extolled *Anatolius* for appointing (as they supposed) the bounds of *Easter* betwixt the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon; yet Wilfrid, in the synod of *Streunshall*,

chargeth them with utterly rejecting his cycle of nineteen years; from which, therefore, *Cummianus* (in one of the Cottonian manuscripts), argues against them, *that they can never come to the true account of Easter who observe the cycle of eighty-four years.*—Religion of the ancient Irish and British, p. 62.

As to the importance attached to the two different methods of computation, we have had something similar to it in the last century, when the *new*, or *Gregorian* style was adopted, and our fathers had vehement disputes whether they should keep the old or the new Christmas.

I might here dismiss this point but for two reasons; the one is, to inquire how the Britons came to be so tenacious of their mode of computation, and what grounds they had for it; the other is, to notice an inference which some have drawn from this controversy respecting the true time of Easter.

As to the tenacity of our ancestors, in respect to the present subject, there has been a mistake as to the real state of the dispute between them and the clergy from Rome. The Britons and Scots pleaded the practice of St. John and the eastern churches, as we have before had occasion to state. "But this dispute," observes Mr. Whitaker, "was not the same with that between Anicetus, the bishop of Rome, and Polycarp, the martyr of Smyrna; Polycarp urging for the observance of Easter with the Jews, upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whether a Sunday or not; and Anicetus pressing to observe it on the Sunday immediately after the fourteenth." The dispute afterwards grew warm between the eastern and the western churches; those alleging the practice of St. Philip and St. John; *these* appealing to that of St. Paul and St. Peter, as transmitted by tradition to them respectively, yet both perhaps very truly. But the great coun-

cil of Nice settled the dispute, by determining for the Sunday next after the fourteenth day of the moon. The Britons had always kept their Easter so, and had only to go on in their old course. In the time of the Emperor Constantine, during whose reign the Nicean council was convened, it is expressly affirmed, that Easter was celebrated in *Britain* after the same manner as at *Rome*; and therefore the British Christians did not follow the Eastern custom in contradistinction to what then was the Roman practice, as some have positively asserted. But a dispute afterwards arose, how the Nicene rule was to be practised, and what was the best cycle of years for regulating the practice. Thus the Britons observed Easter upon the fourteenth day of the moon, if it was a Sunday; or, if not, upon any other Sunday up to the twenty-first. Nor did our British ancestors derive even this variation from any direct communication with the Christians of the East. They actually derived it from that very cycle of eighty-four years, which the Romans themselves had used to the days of Leo the Great; while the Romans had now adopted the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, and communicated it to the Saxons by Augustine."

From the erroneous supposition that the dispute between the old Britons and the adherents of Rome, in the seventh and eighth century, was similar to a former dispute between the church of Smyrna and that of Rome, some persons of eminence had come to the conclusion that Christianity was introduced into Britain by Asiatic missionaries. So great a man as bishop Goodwin was decidedly of this sentiment; and Mr. Whitaker is severe on a respectable antiquary of the north, for maintaining that "the conformity of their (the *Britons*') belief and practice in the affair of Easter, to that which prevailed among the Christians of the East," argued that the most ancient British churches were in all probability founded

by Asiatic missionaries, perhaps by the famous Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. All this being groundred in misconception stands for nothing; the premises being erroneous, the conclusion must be false.

The following extracts, from a copy of Caradoc of Llancarvan's History of Wales, tends to throw some light on the events of the eighth century, and in particular the disputes respecting the *true time* of Easter.

A. D. 674.—The yellow fever, or plague, broke out in Britain; and, in consequence thereof, *Cadwalader* the king went over to Britany, and many of his nobles and chiefs along with him. Then, after the pestilence had abated, A. D. 683. *Ivor*, the son of *Alan*, king of Britany, was deputed to come over with a strong force to oppose the Saxons. *Ivor* was successful, and defeated them in several engagements, whereby he secured possession of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. It was then that *Ivor*, out of gratitude to God, founded the great monastery in the isle of *Avallon*; that is, Glastonbury.

A. D. 720.—The heat of that summer was so excessive, that the herbage was burnt up; and the cattle perished on account of the extreme drought. There were also such unusual high tides as to do great damage on the shores of Monmouthshire, Glamorgan, and Somerset.

A. D. 727.—The Pagan Saxons committed great devastations in the bishoprics of Llandaff, Llanbadarn, and Menevia, spoiling the churches, and putting to death Aidan the bishop of Llandaff.

A. D. 728.—In the battle of *Carno*, the Cymry proved victorious over the Saxons, and drove them into the river *Usk*, where many were drowned, there being a great flood at that time.

A. D. 733.—In the battle of the *Devawden*, the Saxons, after a severe engagement, overcame the Cymry.

A. D. 750.—The Cymry routed the *Gwydhel Fichti*.

A. D. 754.—The Cymry proved victorious at the battle of Hereford : but *Cyvelach* the BISHOP of *Morganog* (who was, it is evident, a member of the church militant,) fell in the engagement.

A. D. 755.—The time of Easter was altered in Gwynedh, by the advice of Elvod (or Elbodius), bishop of Bangor : but the other bishops did not coincide with the change ; and the Saxons, on that account, made an irruption into South Wales. At the battle of Coed Marchan the Cymry obtained a decisive victory.

A. D. 765.—The Cymry made an irruption into Mercia, and laid the country waste : to prevent further aggressions *Offa* made the great *Dyke*, called *Offa's Dyke*, to serve as a boundary between his territories and the Cymry. This may be still traced on the borders of Shropshire.

A. D. 776.—The men of Gwent and Morganog broke down the Dyke, and made it level with the ground.

A. D. 777.—There was a great commotion in South Wales, owing to the alteration of Easter : the prince of that country being anxious to enforce the change conformably to the Catholic usage, the people broke out in open insurrection, and the consequence was the death of the prince.

A. D. 784.—*Offa* renewed the great Dyke, leaving greater space of country to the Welsh between Severn and Wye.

A. D. 795.—The Danes first invaded the island ; after committing great devastations in England they came to Morganog, where they made great havoc ; but the people of the country at length compelled them to retire, after slaughtering great numbers of them.

A. D. 809.—Elvod, archbishop of Gwynedh, died ; and there was great commotion among the clergy, the bishops of Llandaff and Menevia refusing to submit to the change of Easter made in North Wales.

VIII.

SPLENDOUR OF THE SAXON CHURCHES.

THE grandeur and external splendour of the churches, the priests' vestments, &c. was carried to a high pitch by the Saxon prelates, who taught the princes of that age how great the merit was of conferring any donations for enriching the churches and abbies. Bishop Wilfrid's magnificence, and the splendour of Hexham and Rippon churches, compared with the church built at Lindisfarn by bishop Aidan, and the plainness of the Scots and Britons, form a striking contrast.

We have already noticed the splendour of the church of Rippon: we shall now give some extracts from Mr. Whitaker, to shew the stateliness and opulence of other churches.

"We find the Saxon churches," says the antiquary, "decorated richly with silver, gold, or jewels; and may, therefore, be sure that in general they were temples worthy to be the repositories of such valuable oblations. Thus the church of Ramsay abbey had, "a tablet of wood in the front of the high altar, finely ornamented with broad and solid plates of silver, as well as gems of various kinds and colours." Thus also the church of Ely received from Edgar, as a present, "his own cloak, formed of fine purple, and interwoven throughout with threads of gold, in plates, like a coat of mail."—Leland's Coll. II. 593. Mr. Whitaker then observes, from William of Malmesbury, speaking of the church of Sherborn, that Sighelm, the bishop of it, was "sent over sea by Alfred, to Rome," with some of the king's alms, and even to the *Christians of St. Thomas in India*; that "with wonderful success, which must excite admiration in the

present age," excite it even in our own; after a complete discovery of those Christians and this country, "he actually penetrated into *India*; and, on his return, brought back the *exotic gems (as well as the aromatic liquors)*, with which the country abounds;" and that some of those gems were to be seen in the historian's days, *in the monuments of Sherborn church.*

As another instance of the peculiar splendour of the Saxon churches, we may notice what is said by Ingulphus, respecting Croyland Abbey. The founder, who was himself the first abbot, in the reign of Edgar, assigned for the service of the Eucharist there "one cup of gold, and two phials of gilt silver, modelled in the form of two angels, with enchased work upon them; and two basins of silver, wonderful in their workmanship and size, very finely enchased with soldiers in armour; all which vessels Henry, emperor of Germany, had formerly presented to him, and up to the time of presenting had always retained in his own chapel."

These vessels and ornaments were not merely foreign, and therefore rare; for we find, says Mr. Whitaker, a remarkable instance to the contrary, even in a dignified clergyman of the Saxons. The famous Dunstan was possessed of that genius, "that he readily comprehended very acutely, and retained very firmly, any subject; and, though he had so distinguished a taste in various arts, yet he attached himself with peculiar affection to instrumental music; taking the psaltery, like David; striking the harp, modulating the organ, touching the cymbals. Being, besides, dexterous in every manual operation, he could form pictures or inscriptions; imprint them with a graver upon gold, silver, brass, or iron; and, indeed, execute any thing."

It is said of Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon, in the reign of Edgar, that he "gave the church one golden

chalice of immense weight, with three crosses of pure silver and gold : he also decorated the church with texts, as well in pure silver as in standard gold, and with very valuable stones, with censers and phials, basins of cast metal, and chandeliers of molten silver ——” So superbly were the Saxon churches decorated with the fine specimens of art, as well as with ornaments of the most costly materials.

As an instance of the superb and gaudy vestments in which the Saxon dignitaries celebrated Divine services, the following is exceedingly curious : a priest is mentioned by William of Malmsbury, “ who officiated in a kind of garment, *made of the most delicate threads, saturated with the dyes of the shell fishes, being of a purple ground, while it was variegated with colours like those that appear on the peacock’s back.*”

As a curious specimen of royal ingenuity, as well as munificence, we add the following, taken also from Mr. Whitaker, who extracted it from Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra* :

The Saxon queen of Canute “ *wrought, with her own hands, a fine piece of purple, surrounded on every side with a border of gold fringe, and ornamented at several parts of it by extraordinary workmanship with gold and precious gems, as in stories; and presented it to the church of Ely, that in NO WHERE ELSE IN ENGLAND SHOULD BE FOUND A PIECE OF SUCH WORKMANSHIP AND VALUE.*”

Archbishop Wilfrid was the founder of nine Minsters; but the most magnificent of them was the church or minster of Hexham, which is said to have exceeded all the sacred edifices on this side the Alps. The dimensions of this elegant place are represented to be of great magnitude, both as to the length and height of the walls. It was built of polished stones; and had various chapels

and oratories appended to it, above and under ground. "It was supported on columns of squared, varied, well-polished stones: the walls themselves, with the capitals of those columns by which the walls were supported, as also the coved ceiling of the sanctuary, he decorated with histories, statues, and various figures, projecting in sculpture from the stone, with grateful variety of pictures, and with wonderful beauty of colours." This stately edifice was the admiration of foreigners, even the Italians, who considered it as rivalling the august buildings of a sacred kind at Rome itself. William of Malmesbury, notwithstanding the injuries it had sustained, pronounces it in his age to be a building of admirable elegance; which he attributes, in a great degree, to the taste of Wilfrid himself, as well as the artists and artificers, whom he encouraged, by his munificence, to come over from Rome to engage in the undertaking.

Such was once the cathedral of Northumberland, superior even to the august edifices at Rippon and York, and surpassing every thing of the kind out of Italy. The prelates of that age had a great idea of external grandeur, which, under the plausible profession of doing honour to the great Object of worship, only tended to increase the pomp of the clergy; and to lead the common people to regard all religion as consisting in show and ceremony, rather than in serving God in spirit and in truth, and following the meekness and lowliness of the Redeemer.

As to church music, if we judge of the devotion of the choirs by their instruments, they were inferior to nothing of the kind in later ages. Organs were known in England even in the seventh century; and, in the reign of king Edgar, there was a double kind of organ at Winchester cathedral, such as England cannot equal

even in the present day ; this gigantic instrument having twelve bellows in one row above, and fourteen in another below ; these, alternately, blowing with vast power, and requiring seventy stout men to manage them !! With music like this, who can be so illiberal as to doubt, that angels were attracted by the charming sound, while all the pipes of this royal instrument played to the praise and glory of God !!!

As the greatest part of the worship of those ages consisted in the services of the choir, a good singer was of more importance than a sound preacher : the pulpit was of little use ; there was no popular mode of instruction ; and the common people had not the advantage of enjoying the inestimable treasure of the word of God (with the exception of what Bede had done) in their own vernacular tongue, until the great Alfred exerted himself in procuring the Psalms to be translated into the Saxon tongue, and projected perhaps the entire version of the Sacred Volume.

The disciples of Augustine, of Theodore, and of Wilfrid, as firm sticklers to the policy and maxims of the Roman see, endeavoured all in their power to promote the external pomp of public worship, and the splendours of sacred edifices ; while the Culdees of Iona, and some of the native Britons of the old stamp, partly from their circumstances, and partly from principle, rejected so great a departure from primitive simplicity.

St. Jerom bore his testimony against the grandeur and superbness of the Christian temples in his day, built of marble, with gilded roofs and altars, adorned with precious stones, while there was no selection in the choice of proper ministers. The magnificence of the Jewish temple, he observes, is no rule for Christians ; for there the legal sacrifices were offered, and it was

a dispensation of types and figures : but the disciples of Jesus are not to affect that outward splendour, but to take up their cross to follow their master, and to shew their contempt for worldly riches and greatness. Vide *Hieronymi Epist. ad Nepotianum*.

IX.

THE LAST DAYS OF VENERABLE BEDE.

— THE account given of the last moments of Venerable Bede, by one of his own scholars, is so very affecting, and displays so high a strain of devotion, that I think proper to annex it to the concluding papers of this volume, as an eminent instance of the peaceable and happy consummation of a good man's days. "See with what peace a Christian can expire!"

The ancient narrative states that, about two weeks before Easter, he was much troubled with a difficulty of breathing, yet without pain; so that he led his life cheerful and rejoicing, employing his time in devout exercises, until the day of our Lord's ascension, which was that year on the first of the Calends of June. He daily read lessons to his disciples, and spent what remained of the day in singing of psalms; he also passed all the night waking in joy and thanksgiving, unless when a short sleep prevented it; but awaking, he presently repeated his wonted exercises, and ceased not to give thanks to God with hands expanded. He sang Antiphons, says the narrator, according to ours and his custom; one of which is, *O glorious King! Lord of hosts! who, triumphing this day, didst ascend above all the heavens; do not forsake us orphans; but send down the promised Father's Spirit of truth upon us.* Hallelujah. When he came to the words *do not forsake us*, he burst out into tears, and wept much; and, when in an hour after he began to repeat what he had commenced, we wept with him: by turns we read, and by turns we wept; nay, we always read with tears. He often said and repeated,

*That God scourges every son whom he receiveth ; and much more out of the Scripture ; as also the sentence of St. Ambrose, I have not lived so as to be ashamed to live among you ; nor do I fear to die, because we have a good God. During these days he laboured to compose two works, well worthy to be remembered, besides the lessons we had from him, and singing of psalms ; that is, he translated the Gospel of St. John into our own tongue, (the Anglo-Saxon) for the benefit of the church ; and some collections out of the book of notes of Bishop Isidorus, saying, “ I will not have my scholars read a falsehood, and to labour herein after my death, without any advantage.” This is one of the earliest accounts we have of any vernacular version of the Scriptures in Britain ; and it shews that Bede had no mind to keep the Word of God locked up in a foreign tongue. “ When the Tuesday before the Ascension of our Lord came, he began to be more vehemently seized with difficulty of breathing, and a slight swelling appeared in his feet ; but he passed all that day pleasantly, and dictated now and then, saying, “ Go on quickly ; I know not how long I shall hold out, and whether my Maker will soon take me away.” But to us he seemed well to know the time of his departure ; and so he spent that night waking in thanksgiving ; and the morning appearing, that is, Wednesday, he ordered that we should speedily transcribe what he had begun to pen ; and this done, we walked till the third hour in procession in honour of the Saints, according to the custom of that day. One of us remained with him, who said to him, *Most dear master, there is still one chapter wanting : do you think it troublesome to be asked any more questions ?* He answered, *It is no trouble : take your pen, and make ready, and write fast.* This he did : but at the ninth hour he said to me, *Run quickly, and bring the priests of our monastery to me.**

He then spoke to every one, admonishing and intreating that they would carefully say masses and prayers for him, which they readily promised ; but they all mourned and wept, especially because he said, *They should no more see his face in this world.* But they rejoiced when he said further, *It is time that I return to him who formed me out of nothing : I have lived long ; my merciful Judge well foresaw my life for me ; the time of my dissolution draws near ; for I desire to be dissolved, and be with CHRIST.* Having said much more, he passed the day rejoicing till the evening ; and the above mentioned youth said, “ *Dear master, there is one sentence not yet written.* He answered, *Write quickly.* Soon after the young man said, *The sentence is now written.* He replied, *Well, you have said the truth. It is ended. Receive my head into your hands, for it is a great satisfaction to me to sit facing my sacred spot, where I was wont to pray, that I may also in my sitting call upon my Father.* Being lifted out of bed, and rested sitting upon the floor, he then sung, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost :* he immediately breathed his last.

“ All that beheld this blessed father’s death said, they had never seen any other expire in so much devotion and tranquillity ; for as long as his soul continued in the body, he never ceased with up-lifted hands to give thanks to the true and living God.”*

Such is the account of the happy exit of one of the greatest men of the Christian church, within his age and country. We may, perhaps, discern some tincture of superstition, in his desiring masses to be said for him : but there is no mention of purgatory, no fear of death ; no application to the intercession of saints, nor use of the extreme unction. So much of ardent piety and de-

* Preface to Stevens’s Translation of Bede. ♀

votion, in conjunction with unremitting regard for literature, are seldom instanced, even in a purer age of the church.*

* The private cell or study of Bede was in existence even to the age of the Reformation; for Simon Dunelmensis mentions, as being shewn in his day, "that little mansion of stone where he was accustomed to sit, to meditate, to read, to dictate, and to write." It remained entire to the days of Leland, who speaks of it as a building low in its pitch, small in its size, and vaulted in its roof; containing an altar, although by that time neglected, "yet bearing in the middle of its front a piece of serpentine marble, inlaid into the substance of it." It is observed by Mr. Whitaker that "the rude oaken chair, called Bede's," was in existence in the year 1745, and had nearly been burnt as a Popish relic by an over-heated mob. This being mentioned in a provincial newspaper, when our antiquary was then a boy of ten years' old, made that deep impression on his mind, as afterwards to excite in his youthful, but vigorous fancy, that strong predilection for antiquarian studies, which, in his mature age, broke forth with such strength and brilliancy.—See *History of Cornwall*, Ch. vii. s. 3. or Vol. II. p. 340.

X.

THE WELSH AND BRETON LANGUAGES.

FROM various sources, we derive information sufficient to convince the unprejudiced, of the near affinity subsisting between the ancient languages of Gaul and Britain. We have the testimony of *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* to that effect ; and our English *Strabo*, Mr. *Camden*, has instanced the resemblance in several words and names found in the classic writers. How far the *Breton* or *Armoric* tongue may differ from the dialects of the *Celtic* and *Aquitanian* Gauls, as spoken in ancient times, it is difficult now to decide. But there were different dialects among the *Gauls*, as well as the insular *Britons* : among the latter, the *Loegrian*, the *Cumbrian*, and the *Gadhelig* differed ; so the *Aquitani* and the *Belgæ* had their dialects, which varied from the dialect spoken by the *Celtic* Gauls. But all these dialects of Gaul and Britain were only diversities of the same language, partly occasioned by a dissonance in the pronunciation, and partly by prolonging or contracting the terminations, as well as in some instances using the same words in a different sense. But as those languages are still in existence, we have it in our power to satisfy ourselves as to the Celtic of the continent, and our ancient British tongue. We have the writings of learned antiquaries on both sides the water ; and their concurrent testimonies assure us, that the *Bretons* of the continent, and the *Britons* of Wales, speak the same language, with some diversity of dialect, at this very day. We call the continental *Bretons* CYMRY FRAINGC, or the French Cymbri ; while that people denominate the Welsh *Insular*

Britons, and the people of *Gwalia*, or *Pays du Galles*, retaining the *G*, which is dropped in the English name (*Wales*) of the principality. The name of *Gwalia*, in *Taliesin*, differs little from *Gallia*; and, as the Germans drop the *G*, and retain the *w*, we may see how *Wallia*, and *Walsh*, and *Wealas*, came to be used by the Anglo-Saxons, to denote the country and the people who dwell to the westward of the Severn and the Wye, and still speak the same language as the old *Galli*, or *Walli*.

Hear the exclamation of Father *Pezron* on this point : “What a singular fact, that so ancient a language should now be spoken by the Armorican Bretons in France, and by the ancient Britons in Wales; for these are the people who have the honour of preserving the language of the posterity of *Gomer*, *Japhet’s* eldest son.” Let me remind the reader that this was not said by a poor blundering Welshman, but by a learned foreigner.

M. Le Pelletier, the author of the *Dictionnaire de la langue Bretonne*, and his learned editor, concur with *Pezron*, in considering the native tongue of the French Bretons as the same radical language with the ancient British spoken by the Welsh; and that these are the genuine relics of the ancient language of Gaul and Britain, still retained in those districts of each country, which resemble each other in their geographical situation, as well as their dialect. It is confessed that the Bretons have laboured under peculiar disadvantages, having no printed books among them for general use, and no version of the Sacred Scriptures; but not so the Welsh, who, on the contrary, have enjoyed various advantages, literary and religious, tending to cherish their venerable language. The latter is retained more copious and pure, while, by its continual cultivation, it serves every purpose of literature; and yet the

former has that easy simplicity of idiom and structure which is often lost by cultivation.

The learned Pezron has given a long list of both Greek and Latin words, borrowed from the Celtic, as spoken in Britany, most of which are now used in Wales. There are words both in the Welsh and Armoric, which were, in all probability, borrowed from the Romans ; such as *Gwin*, wine ; *Yspail*, spoil ; and many besides : but the many primitives, expressive of the most common things, which appear to be the same identical words as are used in Greek and Latin, must have appertained to the language of the Britons from its first formation ; and it may as rationally be supposed that the language of Rome received them from some of the ancient Celts, as that the Gauls and Britons borrowed those words from the Romans. But the structure of the language itself best speaks its high antiquity. Like every other ancient language which may be supposed to retain, in any considerable degree, the character of its Asiatic origin, it bears some resemblance to the Hebrew. Dr. Davies, who may be allowed to be a competent judge on the subject, was not afraid to affirm that neither the Greek nor the Latin, much less any modern language, is capable of expressing the Hebraisms of the Holy Scriptures in so lively a manner as the ancient British, and that with regard both to terms and idioms, as well as syntax. Its pronunciation resembles that of the East, while its composition and structure approaches nearer to the oriental tongues, than to any European language.* It possesses the simplicity of the Hebrew, and the copiousness and harmony of the Greek.

The Breton language is rather variously spoken in different districts of Britany : just so the Welsh varies

* See Davies's Latin and Welsh Grammar, and Walter's Dissertation.

in North and South Wales; but as this chiefly respects pronunciation, and the use of familiar terms and phrases, this difference is of small importance among intelligent people, and the same version of the Scriptures suits both provinces. As to the general affinity between the Welsh and the Armoric, as well as what regards the variation subsisting in the oral and written language in the different dioceses of Britany, we must attend to the account of M. le Pelletier, in his *Remarques sur les Dialectes*.*

After signifying that, according to all his investigations, it appeared that the language of the people of Wales, and the people of Britany, are but two grand dialects of the same language; the learned Breton proceeds to state, that they computed the number of their dialects according to their dioceses, although he observes, they might trace some shades of variety in every parish. Of the dioceses, he first mentions that of *St. Paul de Leon*, where the language is spoken with the greatest softness, and the aspirates are less used in their pronunciation. The reason of this is supposed to be owing to the inhabitants being more highly civilized, by their intercourse with the gentry and the merchants, as that diocese contains several large towns and seaports.

In *Cornouaile* or *Cornwaille*, which is more of a mountainous and woody country, the people are more rude and uncultivated: but having less intercourse with the French, they have more of the genuine manners of the Breton peasantry, and are better adapted to express the language in its true pronunciation, by giving the full sound to the aspirates. This people speak in a kind of

* M. le Pelletier was born 1663, and died 1733; but the Dictionary was not published until twenty years after the death of the author. He must have been engaged with his work when Mr. Edward Lhuyd visited Britany.

chanting or sing-song tone;* their utterance is very forcible, and they elevate the tone of their voice and then lower it, as if their words were pricked notes: but what makes that less surprising is, that they are a people who are much addicted to singing, and fond of instrumental music. Their airs are said to be wild, but finely melodious; and it was usual, in the time of our lexicographers, to retain them in the churches to assist in their sacred services. Thus the people of Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire, who occupy the wildest parts of North Wales, have been famed as musicians and harpers, and the most retentive of primitive customs, while they speak their native tongue in its genuine purity.

The people of the diocese of Vannes are distinguished also by a variation of dialect, which consists principally in the ending of the infinitive mood of the verb, and the termination of nouns, and a pronunciation which is less sonorous, and approaches nearer to that of the French.

The Bretons of *Treguer* and *Quemper* have also a variety in their dialect; and, as to the former, it is observed, that they approach nearer to the Britons of Wales in their pronunciation, as far as the learned critic could gather from Dr. Davies's Dictionary, and the idea he could from thence form of the sounds of the Welsh language. In some parts they prolonged the terminations, which in others they curtailed, being apt to speak more abrupt and sharp.

The stock of words in use among the Bretons is rather deficient except for ordinary purposes: but this is not to be wondered at; for it is with languages as with those who speak them, their latent powers cannot be known until proper attempts are made to elicit them.

* This still characterises many of our Cornish as well as many of the Welsh, although the former all speak English.

The Cymraeg, or Welsh, considered as a provincial language, appears at first far less copious than other languages; but those who have investigated it, in the writings of the poets and ancient authors, and pay due attention to its nomenclature and structure, will soon be convinced of the contrary. We should here attend to what a celebrated linguist and lexicographer of our own has said, with respect to its antiquity, purity, and copiousness.

“Those who may take some pains to acquire a proper knowledge of our language,” says that learned countryman, “will be convinced of its rich copiousness and powers: it retains within itself the primitive roots of every word it possesses; and those, for aught we can discover to the contrary, in their primeval acceptations. These roots so aptly associate in easy and elegant compounds, that we are not under the necessity of borrowing a single term, in any art or science, from other languages, ancient or modern. The origin of our verb is obvious; our derivatives are peculiarly neat; the names of persons and places, as *Caswallawn*, *Casivelaunus*; *Cynvelyn*, *Cunobelinus*; *Caratoc*, *Caractacus*; *Prydain*, *Britain*; *Celyddon*, *Caledonia*; *Esyllwyr*, *Silures*, &c. &c. are compounds and derivatives on precisely the same principles that still actuate the language; and are as familiar to us as if they were of recent formation; which proves to a demonstration, that our language has altered but very little or nothing; and equally demonstrates, that it was formed long before the Roman invasion. It appears to have at that time attained to a stability, which secured it against all the storms that, through almost two thousand years, have assailed it. This accounts for its having escaped with life, when all the languages of the ancient Roman empire died in its fall, even the Latin itself. Through all the dark ages, which succeeded

the ruin of that empire, the Welsh for every purpose of literature used their own language; whilst every other neighbouring nation were generally obliged to have recourse to the Latin tongue.”*

When the Romans established their power in Britain, we find, from Tacitus, that many of the British youth acquired a knowledge of their language, and made proficiency in their literature. In process of time the Latin must have been pretty generally spoken throughout the provincial towns. But in the recesses of the country the natives retained their ancient tongue, and their primitive manners also in a good degree; while, in several instances, we may naturally suppose the Roman and the British tongues were mingled together.

The Bards guarded the primeval language; but not without incorporating a few Latin words, and availing themselves of the Roman polish to improve their own tongue, by giving more regular terminations to their nouns and verbs. We see, in the poems of Taliesin, Latin sentences mingled with the Welsh: but Latin radicals do not easily incorporate with the latter without betraying their origin. In Llywarch and Myrddin we find no words of Latin derivation: but the common people, who were contiguous to the Romans, must have used their terms to express those ideas, and to denote those customs and circumstances, that were strange to them.

The Welsh literature must have been in a low state from the time that the Saxons gained the ascendancy, until the time of Prince Howel, in the tenth century: but it was Prince Griffith ap Conan, after residing many years in Ireland, that revived the Bardic institutes, and, by encouraging poetry and music, introduced a new

* Preface to the Welsh Archaeology, Vol. I.

æra among the Welsh. We have many pieces composed in prose and verse from that period : but what has the chief merit is the poetry, which, in general, is highly laboured, in order to keep within the laws of the Welsh metre and consonancy.

In the course of so many ages it must have happened, that the changes which the people have undergone should affect their language ; but the structure of the Welsh is such, that, while it is cultivated at all, its essential and component principles which distinguish it from every other tongue must continue unaltered. The nature of the Welsh poetry, the general predilection for verse among the people, the facility the language affords for it, the assiduous exertions of the Bards in rivalling each other, and the honours bestowed upon their productions, had the most intimate tendency to preserve the strength, purity, and copiousness of the British tongue.

Besides the mixture of words adopted from the language of our Roman masters, and which are now classically used, and without having regard to the Anglicisms which have crept among us, owing to works translated from English, there are many words and expressions grown obsolete within the last two centuries, which, in the time of the Welsh princes, were in common use. When law, religion, and science, wore only a Welsh garb, the language retained its native beauty, simplicity, and grandeur : but, when it ceased to be national, and when, in process of time, it came to be considered as the language of rustics and peasants, a considerable change must have ensued. But if we are obliged to make these concessions, it should not be forgotten that the inflexions of nouns and verbs are such as philosophically accord with the most radical principles of a language like the Welsh ; and we have therefore every reason to believe

that the Welsh language still subsists without any material alteration to what it was in ancient times.

The changes that have affected it in some parts of the principality have been introduced since the period of the integral incorporation of the country with the realm of England, in the reign of Henry VIII. The common dialect became subject to a mixture of English from that time; and, within the present age, the influx of commerce has increased that effect; while, on the other hand, the frequency of religious ordinances, and the dissemination of theological works, have tended to its permanency.

It is no small gratification to any lover of Cambrian literature, that within the last and the present age we have had among our native hills and dales persons so well versed in the language, antiquities, and poetry of the ancient Britons; persons not inferior to those who have stood in the highest rank of fame among their countrymen "in the days of yore." It may be perhaps apprehended that, after the loss of a *JOHNES*, a *HARDINGE*, and other friends of Cambria, a cloud of obscurity may follow; were it not that favourable circumstances indicate that the genius of former days has not yet quitted, nor is likely to quit the Cambrian wilds. While the author is about to close these papers, he finishes his task, in hope that the study of ancient British history, with whatever may shed a lustre upon it, will become a more general object of attention. A learned prelate, and a nobleman, descended from a most illustrious line of Cambrian chiefs, having given their sanction to an attempt to revive the literary institutions of our ancestors, while the Prince of Wales sways the sceptre of the British isles—we may now be cheered with the hope that the most pleasing results will follow; and that as to every thing connected with

the honour of old Cambria, it will be said, ESTO PERPETUA.

At the conclusion of these papers I designed giving some extracts from *Taliesin*, in order to shew the curious manner in which the Latin was in that age blended with the Welsh.—The fame of *Taliesin*, as a poet, is but of a very inferior kind, when compared with *Myrdhin*, or *Golydhan*; and none of those Bards are worthy to be compared with those of the last ages. But the fragments of *Taliesin* evince the truth of the position, that the language of Rome was not out of use among the Britons in the sixth century. But for native genius and flow of sentiment, *Llywarch* strikes me the most; although *Ancurin* must be considered the greatest of the Bards by those who can understand him.

The Rev. Mr. Evans, in his specimens of the Bards, confines himself to those of the middle ages, excepting in one small piece of *Taliesin*. He tells us, that he was in possession of an ancient collection of the genuine pieces, and makes a complaint of many things passing under the name of that Bard, which ought to be attributed to the monks. Some of those printed in the *Welsh Archæology*, I have suspected to be of that stamp. Mr. Evans confesses his inability to interpret many of those old productions, but it would be doing as great service to the literature of his country to afford some of his own best specimens, as by dint of study to surmount all the mystical allusions of the Druidical *Taliesin*. If ever those relics of antiquity are to be cleared of their obscurities, it may be done in the present age; for there are gentlemen now living who have seldom been equalled, and perhaps never will be surpassed, as Welsh antiquaries.

THE CORNISH DIALECT.

THIS venerable language bears the closest affinity to the ancient British retained in Wales, and to the language of Britany on the continent. It seems to have participated nearly, in an equal degree, with the one and the other of those dialects; and, in the remains we have of it still extant, in Lluyd and Price's Cornish Grammar, and Dr. Borlase's vocabulary, we find certain radicals which are long since become obsolete in the Cambro-British. If the author of the present work should have leisure, and favourable opportunities for the subject, he may, perhaps, collect what notices can be obtained of the Cornish as well as the Armorican British. One thing is observable, that both these dialects approach to the peculiarities of South Wales, rather than to those of North Wales. There is great simplicity apparent in the old Cornish idiom; and there can be little doubt that it was the language generally spoken by the Loegrian Britons, or the Aborigines of England. Mr. Edward Lluyd has given us a Cornish tale, interpreted in Welsh, all in the style of British simplicity, and which, if expressed in the common Welsh orthography, displays the near affinity between it and the language of the principality; while, at the same time, the variation, in some instances, is considerable. Our ingenious archæologist met with very few in the beginning of the last century, in Cornwall, who were acquainted with the old language of the country. The only Englyn he could pick up was the following:—

An lavar kôth, yw lavar gwir,
 Bedh dorn ri ver, dhan tafaz ri hir;
 Mez den heb davaz a gallaz i dir.

XI.

As several of the readers of *Horæ Britannicæ* may be gratified by affording them some specimen of the ancient languages of the British isles, I propose giving a short and concise vocabulary of those languages, extracted chiefly from the *Archæologia Britannica*, premising a few remarks.

We have stated the reasons of an eminent antiquary for his belief, that the Gwydhelian, or Irish, was once spoken in South Britain; and there are very plausible grounds for supporting such an opinion. Ireland was first peopled from this country; and, if it received its population many ages before the Christian æra, then the *Gwydhelians* were the first inhabitants of Britain; and the *Cimbric*, *Loegrian*, and *Breton* tribes, having driven them to Ireland and Caledonia, they carried that language with them which they spoke in South Britain, and, previous to that, on the continent.

The Welsh language was never generally spoken, but on the western shores of Britain, from the Bristol channel to the Solway and the Clyde; except we consider it as the language also of the Picts of Northumberland, and the country between the two Roman walls.

On a great part of the eastern coast of the kingdom, and among the *Coritani*, a language was spoken more nearly allied to the Teutonic, until the establishment of the Roman power, by means of which the Latin tongue became familiar to all the more polished of the Britons.

The Welsh language underwent considerable alterations since the coming over of the Romans; but received its greatest accession of improvement, both in structure and copiousness, during the period which elapsed, from the time of Cadwalader, to the age of Griffith ap Conan.

SPECIMEN OF THE ANCIENT LANGUAGES OF THE CELTIC
NATIONS.

ABBREVIATIONS:—*L.* Latin; *W.* Welsh; *A.* Armoric; *I.* Irish; *E.* English; *M.* Manks; *Sc.* Scottish, or Gadhelic; *F.* French; *G.* German; *B.* Belgic, or Dutch; *D.* Danish; *A.* S. Anglo-Saxon.

ALBUS, *W.* Gwyn, *C.* Gwydn, *A.* Guen, *I.* Fin, ban, geal.

ANNIS, *W.* Avon, *C.* Auan, *A.* Ryiver, *I.* Avan.

AGUA, *W.* Dwt, (*Dúr*) *C.* Dour, *A.* Dur, *I.* Wisg.

ANNUS, *W.* Blwydhyn, *C.* Bledhan, *A.* Bloadd, *I.* Bliadhan.

ANIMA, *W.* Enaid, *C.* Ena, *A.* Ene, *I.* Anam.

ARATRUM, *W.* Aradr, *C.* Ardar, *Ar.* Arar, *I.* Sheisreach.

ARBOR, *W.* Pren, gwydd, pl. gwydden, sing., *C.* Guedhan, *A.* Guezan, *I.* Krann.

AVENA, *W.* Keirch, *C.* Kerh, *Ar.* Kerch, *I.* Koirke, *Mon.* Koirkie.

AVIS, *W.* Adar, pl. Aderyn, sing. eden, *C.* Hedhen, *Ar.* Ezen, *I.* Ean, eon, *Mon.* Ien.

AZIES, *W.* Hûrdh, *I.* Reithe, *A.* Hordh, *C.* Urdh.

BOS, *W.* Ych, eidon; *C.* Udzheon, *Ar.* Ezhian, *I.* Dav. *E.* An Ox.

TAURUS, *W.* Tarû (*w*) *C.* and *A.* Taro, *I.* Tarv. *E.* Bull.

VACCA, *W.* Bywch, *C.* Byuh, *Ar.* Biych, *I.* Bo, *E.* Cow.

VITULUS, *W.* Llo, *C.* Leaugh, *Ar.* Lue, *I.* Laegh, *E.* Calf.

BRACHIUM, *W.* Braich, *C.* Brech, *Ar.* Brez, *I.* Raigh, *E.* An Arm.

CÆLUM, *W.* Nev, sing. Nevoedd, pl.; *C.* Nev, *A.* An ê, an oabr; *E.* Heaven.

CÆRULEUS, *W.* Glas, *C.* Blou, glas; *Ar.* Pers, *I.* Glas, *E.* Blue.

CAMPUS, *W.* Maes, gwayn; *C.* Gwein, *A.* Mes, *I.* Magh, *Sc.* Fasach, *E.* Field.

CANIS, *W.* Ki, *C.* Kei, *A.* Ki, *I.* Madadh, *E.* Dog.
W. Gast, *C.* Gest, *A.* Kies, *E.* Bitch.

CAPUT, *W.* Pen, *C.* Pedens, *A.* Pen, *I.* Kean, *E.* Head.

CARO, *W.* Kîg, cnawd; *C.* and *A.* Kig, *I.* Feol, *E.* Flesh.

CIBUS, *W.* Buyd, *C.* Buz, buyd; *A.* Boet, *I.* Biadh, *E.* Food.

COR, *W.* Calon, *C.* Colan, *Ar.* Calon, *I.* Kroid, *M.* Kri.

DENS, *W.* Dant, *C.* Danz, *Ar.* Dant, *I.* Fiaskal, *E.* Tooth.

DEUS, *W.* Dyw, *C.* Deu, *A.* Due, *I.* Dia, *F.* Dieu, *It.* Dio, *Sp.* Dios, *G.* Goet, *E.* God.

DIABOLUS, *W.* Diavol, Diawl, Kythrael, *C.* Dzhiaul, *A.* Azrouant, *I.* Diaul, Deavan.

DIES, *W.* Dydh, diwarnod; *C.* Dydd, dzyrna; *Ar.* Deidh, *I.* Dia, *E.* Day.

DOMUS, *W.* Tŷ, *C.* Tshyi, *Ar.* Ti, *I.* Teach, *E.* House.

ECCLESIA, *W.* Egluy's, Llan., *C.* Egliz, *Ar.* Ilis, *I.* Eaglais, Kill; *F.* Eglise, *E.* a Church, Kirk.

FACIES, *W.* Wyneb, *C.* Enap. *Ar.* Fas, drem, *I.* Yi, cadan; *E.* Face.

FERRUM, *W.* Haiarn, *C.* Hoarn, *Ar.* Uarn, *I.* Iaram, earnach; *Mon.* Iaarn, *E.* Iron.

FILIUS, *W.* and *C.* Mab, *Ar.* Map, *I.* Mac. *E.* Son.

FILIA, *W.* Merch, *C.* Merh, *Ar.* Merch. *I.* Ingean.

FONS, *W.* Fynnon, *C.* Fentan, *Ar.* Piuns, fentan; *I.* Tobar, fiaran; *Sc.* Fuaran, *E.* Fount, fountain.

FRATER, *W.* Brawd, sing. Brodyr, pl. *C.* Bredar, *A.* Breir, *I.* Brathair, *G.* Bruder, *E.* Brother.

FRAXINUS, *W.* On, onnen, sing. onwydden; *C.* Enwydh, *Ar.* Guedhanon, *I.* Fuinshean, *E.* Ash.

GLADIUS, *W.* Kledhyv, *C.* Kleddda, *Ar.* Kledhe, *I.* Kloidheav, *Sc.* Claiv, *E.* Sword.

GELU, *W.* Rhew, *I.* Reodh, *A.* Reo, *C.* Reau, *E.* Frost.

GLACIES, *W.* Ia, *C.* Klihi, *A.* Sklas, *I.* Oiar, *E.* Ice.

GRAMEN, *W.* Glaswellt, *C.* Gwellt, *I.* Glasfeur, *E.* Grass.

HORDEUM, *W.* Haidh, barlis; *C.* Barliz, *Ar.* Heidh, brazet, *I.* Orn, *G.* Gersten, *E.* Barley.

HORTUS, *W.* Gardh, perllan; *C.* Lûar, dzharn, *Ar.* Liorz, zardin; *I.* Gardha, gairdin; *F.* Jardin, *E.* Garden.

IGNIS, *W.* Tân, *C.* and *A.* Tan, *I.* Teine, *F.* Feu, *E.* Fire.

INFANS, *W.* Plentyn, maban; *Ar.* Kruadyr, bygel; *I.* Nyidhean, garlax, *E.* Infant, barn.

PUER, *W.* Bachgen, llangc, gwas, herlod; *C.* Mau, *A.* Bigel, guas; *I.* Buachil, flesgach, *Dan.* Barn, *E.* Boy, lad.

PUELLA, *W.* Bachgenes, llangces, geneth, herlodes; *I.* Kailin, geirsheach, *Sc.* Niak, *E.* Girl, &c.

INSULA, *W.* Ynys, *C.* Ennis, *Ar.* Enezen, *I.* Innsh, *Sc.* Insh, li; *E.* Island.

LAC, *W.* Llaeth, llevrith, blith; *C.* Lath, leath; *I.* Baine, laith, bloxhd; *F.* Laict, *E.* Milk.

LACUS, *W.* Llyn, lloch, pwll (pûlh), *C.* Grelin, *Ar.* Len, *I.* Loch, *Sc.* Linne, *E.* Lake.

LAPIS, *W.* Karreg, maen, llech; *C.* Mean, *A.* Men, *I.* Kloch, *E.* Stone.

LANA, *W.* Gwlan, *C.* Gluan, *A.* Gloan, *I.* Olann, *E.* Wool.

LEPUS, *W.* Ysgyvarnog, *C.* Škouarnak, *Ar.* Gat, *I.* Geirfhiaidh, meol moighe, *Sc.* Mach, *E.* Hare.

LINGUA, *W.* Tavod, *C.* Tavaz, *Ar.* Teaut, *I.* Teanga, *Sc.* Teanka, teyngi, *E.* Tongue.

LOQUOR, *W.* Llavaru, chwedleua, siarced ; *C.* Kouz, *A.* Lavaret, *I.* Lavrain, raidhim, luadham ; *F.* Parler, *E.* To speak, to talk.

LUX, *W.* Lleu, goleu, goleuni, lleuver ; *C.* Golou, *Ar.* Sklerder, *I.* Solus, *E.* Light.

LUNA, *W.* Lleuad, lloer ; *C.* Lur, *Ar.* Laor, *I.* Re, easga, gealach, luna ; *Sc.* Eallach, *E.* Moon.

LUPUS, *W.* Blaidh, *C.* Blaidh, *Ar.* Bleidh, *I.* Maktire, madradh allaidh, *Sc.* Maktir, madû, gali ; *G.* Wolff, *A.* S. Wolf, *E.* Wolf.

MANUS, *W.* Llaw, *C.* Dorn, lau, lov ; *Ar.* Dorn, *I.* Lamh (*lav*) dorn ; *Sc.* Laov, Mon. Law, *E.* Hand.

MARE, *W.* Môr, llyr, y weilgi, yr eigion, *C.* and *A.* Môr, *I.* Fairge, muir, aigein ; *G.* meer, *B.* Zee, *E.* Sea.

MATER, *W.* Mam, *C.* Mam, dama ; *A.* Mam, *I.* Mathair, *G.* Mere, *B.* Mooder, *A.* S. Moder, *E.* Mother.

MENSIS, *W.* Mîs, *C.* Miz, *A.* Mîs, *I.* Mi, *Sc.* Mix, *F.* Mois, *Ger.* Monat, *E.* Month.

MONS, *W.* Mynydh, moel, garth ; *C.* Moneth, menydh, *Ar.* Menedh, *I.* Knok, mullach, sliav, bri, aighe, aisgeir ; *Sc.* Bear, *F.* Montagne, *G.* Berg, *E.* Mountain.

COLLIS, *W.* Bryn, bre, gallt, kryg, cefen, tylau, *C.* Hâl, menedh bian, rhynen, *A.*

Huelen, krechen, menedhên ; *I.* Cnockan tulach, rinn, bri, tuilg : *E.* Hill.

MORS, *W.* Angau, marwolaeth, llaith, lleas, *C.* Ankou, *A.* Arkun, *I.* Bar. oidheadh ; *Dan.* Dod, *Sw.* Dodh, *B.* Death.

MULIER, *W.* Gûraig, (*gûr, vir*) benýw, dynes, rhianiñ, *C.* Banen, gûreg, moid ; *Ar.* Maucs, grâk, *I.* Bean, koinne, geann ; *B.* Wiif, *A.* S. Wif, *E.* Woman.

MURUS, *W.* Mŷr, gwal, pared, magwyr; *C.* Foz, *A.* Moreill, moguer; *I.* Mur, babhun, caiseal; *E.* Wall.

NIGER, *W.* Dŷ, pygliu; *C.* and *A.* Diu, *I.* Duv, kiar, bran, dorka; *Sc.* Duh, *E.* Black.

NIX, *W.* Eira, od; *C.* Er, *A.* Erch, sneachd, *E.* Snow.

NOX, *W.* Nôs, *C.* Noz, *Ar.* Nôs, *I.* Oidche, reag, be.

NUBUS, *W.* Noeth, Llom; *C.* Noath, *Ar.* Moal, *Ir.* Mochd.

NEO, *W.* Nydhu; *Ar.* Naadhyt, *I.* Suivam, casam.

OCCA, *W.* Og, Oged; *C.* Harau, *Ar.* Oget, *I.* Praha, kliath.

OCCULUS, *W.* Llygad, *C.* Lagaz, lagad; *I.* Suil, *A.* S. Eage, *E.* Eye.

OS, oris: *W.* y genau, savan; *C.* Ganau, gene; *A.* Genu, *I.* Beil. *Sc.* Beyl, *E.* Mouth.

OS, ossis: *W.* Asgûrn, *C.* Asgarn, *A.* Askorn, *Sc.* Kraiv.

OVIS, *W.* Davad, llwdun; *C.* Davas, davat; *A.* Danvat, *I.* Kaora, *E.* Sheep.—VERVEX, *W.* Mollt, and maharen; *C.* Molz, and moulz; *A.* Maut, *I.* Molt, *Sc.* Molht, *G.* Mouton, *E.* Weather.

ARIES, *W.* Hûrdh, *C.* Hor, hordh; *A.* Urdh. *I.* Reithe, reaith, *Sc.* Re, *E.* Ram.

AGNUS, *W.* Oen, *C.* and *A.* Oan, *I.* Luan, uan, *Ger.* Lamb, *Belg.* Lam, *Dan.* Lam, *Sw.* Lamb, *E.* Lamb.

OVUM, *W.* Wy, *C.* Oi, *Ar.* Ui, *I.* Ugh, *Sc.* U, *Mon.* Ov, *A.* S. Ægg, *E.* Egg.

PANIS, *W.* C. and *A.* Bara, *I.* Aran, *Dan.* Brod, *E.* Bread.

PATER, *W.* Tad, *C.* Taz, tad; *Ar.* Tat, *Ir.* Athair, *G.* Vatter, *Belg.* Vader, *A.* S. Fader, *E.* Father.

PECCATUM, *W.* Pechod, *C.* Peh, *A.* Pechet, gwall; *I.* Peakadh, *Ger.* Sundh, *Belg.* Sonde, *E.* Sin.

PECTUS, *W.* Bron, *C.* Kluyd duyvron, *Ar.* Peytrin krybuyl, *I.* Kliac, *Ger.* Brust, *E.* Breast.

PES, *W.* Troed, *C.* Truz, truyd; *Ar.* Troat, *I.* Kos, troidh; *Sax.* Voet, *Sw.* Foot, *E.* Foot.

PILUS and CRINIS, *W.* Blew, gwallt; *C.* Bleuan, *Ar.* Bleven, *I.* Ribe, ruainne, gruag; *G.* Cheveux, *Ger.* Haar, *Belg.* Hayr, *E.* Hair.

PISCIS, *W.* Pysg, *C.* Pysg, *Ar.* Pesk, *I.* Jasg, *E.* Fish.

POTUS, *W.* Lhynn, diod; *C.* Deuaz, diot; *Ar.* Beuresh, *I.* Deoz, *G.* Trank, *E.* Drink.

PRATUM, *W.* Gwaerglodh, dol-dir, *C.* Bidhen, *A.* Foennek, *I.* Leana, moinhear, &c.; *Mon.* Leana, *E.* Meadow.

PULCHER, *W.* Têg, prydverth, tlws, hardh; *C.* Têg, *A.* Kuantis, *I.* Breadha, sgivach, &c. *E.* Fair, handsome.

PAUPER, *W.* Tlawd, anghenog, llûm, rheidus; *C.* Bohodzhak, *Ar.* Paun, dihammedh, didanvedh, tavantek; *I.* Bochd, daidhvir, lom; *E.* Poor, needy.

QUERCUS, *W.* Dar, derwen, mës-bren; *C.* Glastan, *A.* Derven, *I.* Dair, dairvre, darog, darach; *Sc.* Derh, dar-rag, darrach; *Belg.* Eeke, *E.* Oak.

ROTA, *W.* Rhôd, olwyn, troell; *C.* Roz, *Ar.* Rot, *I.* Roth, *E.* Wheel.

RUBER, *W.* Coch, rudh, *C.* Rydh, *Ar.* Ryudh, *I.* Dearg ruadh, kruan; *E.* Red, ruddy.

RUPIS, *W.* Craig, *C.* Karak, *Ar.* Roch, *I.* Karraig, *M.* Kreig, *F.* Roche, *E.* Rock.

SANGUIS, *W.* Gwaed, kray; *C.* Gudzh, *Ar.* Guact, *I.* Fuil, kru, gal; *Fr.* Sang, *G.* Blut, *E.* Blood.

SOL, *W.* Hayl, hyan, *C.* An Houl, *Ar.* Heol, *I.* Grian, grioth, *tlatan*; *F.* Soleil, *G.* Sonn, *Belg.* Sonnes, *Dan.* Soel, *Scl.* Sonze, *E.* Sun.

SOROR, *W.* Chwaer, *C.* Hor, *Ar.* Chware, *I.* Dearvs-hiur, *A.* S. Sweoster, *Sw.* Syster, *E.* Sister.

STELLAR. *W.* Steren, *C.* Stellan, *Ar.* Sieren, *Gr.* As-
ter. *Belg.* Sterre, *E.* Star, *A. S.* Steorra.

SOL. *W.* Hicli, *C.* Hicli, *A.* Gues, *I.* Krán, *E.* Sow.

SYLVA. *W.* Goed coedwig, Llwyn goed; *C.* Kuz, *A.* Cozt, *I.* Kall, *F.* Foch, *F.* Fischeil; *E.* Wood.

TERRA. *W.* Dalar, *Ar.* tîd, bro-dîr; *C.* Dor, *tir, Ar.* Ddar, *I.* Talav, *Ar.* Keigeath, *E.* Earth.

Triticum. *W.* Gwenth, *C.* Guenath, *Ar.* Guinith, *I.* Kruithneach, *Dan.* Hwete, *Sax.* Hwete, *E.* Wheat.

VIA. *W.* Rôyl, *Ar.* ba bis, *C.* Basahour, *I.* Ath, *Sax.* an, *E.* Ford, (*W.* Fôrth, a road).

VALLES. *W.* Glynn, dyffrin, &c. *C.* Nans, *rosh; Ar.* Traizen, *I.* Glean, *E.* a Valley, a dale.

VENTER. *W.* Bol, *tor, bry, krûth; C.* Torr, *Ar.* Koff, *I.* Bolg, *bruin, bru, tart; E.* Bely, womb.

VENTUS. *W.* Gwyat, *awel; C.* Gwenz, *Ar.* Avel, *I.* Gyth, *death, fochar, G.* Vent, *E.* Wind.

VIDEO. *W.* Gweled, *karvod, edrych; C.* Miraz, *guelaz, Ar.* Guelet, *I.* Kighim, *dearkam, featham; Belg.* Sien, *E.* Dæ. *Sax.* To see, behold.

VICTUS V. CIBUS. *VITA.* *W.* Bywyd, *bychedh, hoedel; Ar.* Beuans, *bykedd; I.* Beatha, *beadhas; Gr.* Bios, *E.* Life, *Dan.* Líf, *Sax.* Líf.

VINUM. *W.* Gwin, *C.* and *A.* Guin, *I.* Fion, *G.* Wein, *E.* Wine.

VIR, Homo. *W.* Gwr (*goor*) dyn; *C.* Gûr, *dean, gwâz, Ar.* Den, *I.* Fear, *duine; Sc.* Fer, *duine; F.* Homme, *Ger.* Man, *E.* Man.

VOLO. *W.* Hedeg, *chedeg, Ar.* Dridall *nizheall, I.* Eatlain, *G.* Fliegen, *Sax.* Flyga, *E.* To fly.

URBS, OPPIDUM. *W.* Kaer, *tre caerog, dinas; C.* Dinas, *Ar.* Kaer, *I.* Kathair, *duan, duanach, Il.* Citta, *F.* Ville, *E.* a City, or Town.

VULPES. *W.* Cadno, *lluynog, madrin; C.* Lûarn, *los-*

tek; *Ar.* Lûarn, *I.* Sheannach, bannach; *Sc.* Shonach, *F.* Reynard, *Ger.* Fuchs, *E.* Fox.

VOLUNTAS, *W.* Euylllys, gwyllys, tuedd; *Ar.* Plizheut, *I.* Toil, deoir, gionn, &c. *E.* Will.

VOLUPTAS, *W.* Digrivoch, divyrroch, deivenydd, *A.* Pligeadyr, *I.* Seis, seiseachd, solas; *E.* Pleasure.

Vox, *W.* Llev, llais, gair; *C.* Lavar, *Ar.* Muez, *I.* Guth, fochar, greadhan, lavart; *E.* Voice.

On the list of words just laid before the Reader, we make the following remarks:—1. The only difference between several of the words in the Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric, arises from the various orthography. 2. Primitives are preserved, in some instances, in one language, which are only found in compounds in another. 3. The same word bears a different acceptation according to the variety of dialect. 4. The dialect in which words are used with the least variation from their radical form and radical acceptation is the most pure. 5. The Irish and the Gaelic contain both primitives and compounds identically the same as the Welsh, &c. while differing materially as to grammatical structure. 6. All the Celtic dialects bear a strong general affinity to each other in certain particulars; and those of the Gothic stock have the same general features of resemblance among themselves.

XII.

THE SEPULTURE OF KING ARTHUR.

INSTEAD of the statement given in p. 199, of the discovery of king Arthur's coffin at Glastonbury, the following is given :—

King Henry II., when in Wales, having heard of the tradition of the Welsh Bards,* from the mouth of one of them, as to the exact spot where king Arthur was interred at Glastonbury, ordered proper search to be made. The place mentioned, as containing the remains of that celebrated prince, was between two obelisks of stone. The men employed for the purpose had to dig to the depth of seven feet, before they made any discovery; and then they found only the flat stone which had closed the grave. Upon the lower face of the stone, and inserted into a cavity within it, was a leaden cross inscribed with large rude characters, agreeable to what Camden has given from Leland. This is accurately copied by Mr. Whitaker in the second part of his history of Manchester. The letters are large capitals, filling up the whole space of the cross, in that promiscuous manner usual in ancient inscriptions. Upon descending nine feet lower, the coffin was found, containing the bones of an extraordinary size. These, as well as the inscription, were shewn to Giraldus Cambrensis, by Henry de Sully, the Abbot: the leg-bone of the monarch was applied to that of a very tall man, and rose three fingers above his knee; and this experiment was

* It was at an entertainment given at Kilgerran Castle, in Pembrokeshire, that Henry received the information. In allusion to this, the Rev. C. Morgan has a fine poem, intituled "THE SHINE of Arthur."

made in the presence of Giraldus. No less than ten wounds were discerned upon his head alone, nine of which appeared to have been slighter ones, and had been healed; and the other was a mortal gash, and remained all unclosed and gaping. The abbot was the relation and friend of king Henry, and gave Giraldus the particulars of so interesting a discovery. The king commanded the remains to be immediately removed into the greater church, and deposited in a magnificent shrine, which was afterwards placed, by order of king Edward I., before the high altar. There they continued to the reign of Henry VIII., who overturned the monasteries, and with them destroyed many of our antiquities.

Leland, in his visit to Glastonbury, saw the cross, with its inscription, and naturally viewed and handled it with great satisfaction: *Quam et ego curiosissimis contemplatus sum oculis, et sollicitis contrectavi articulis, motus et antiquitate rei et dignitate.* The heads both of Arthur and his queen were taken out of the tomb by the order of Edward I.; and even down to the Reformation, shewn with the leaden cross, as a kind of holy relics, to the pilgrims that repaired to the monastery: “a fond degree of zeal,” exclaims Mr. Whitaker, “in the monks and their votaries, that the historian will readily pardon, since the merit of Arthur, in the eye of religion and of truth, was much greater probably than that of half the saints in the monastic calendar.”—See *Hist. Manchester*, B. 2. c. 2. s. 4.

Mr. Whitaker himself visited Glastonbury, and noticed the obelisks that once marked out the place where the great Arthur lay; but which were then removed from the church-yard, and applied to some ordinary purpose. His curiosity also prompted him to make inquiry after the leaden cross; and he was informed by his guide, “his honest and knowing Ciceroni, that the cross was, a few

which appears in the translation of the late Mr. Chamberlain
English in Wales.—See *Life of St. Nevan*, pp. 27, 38.

As Mr. W. has taken such pains to ascertain geogra-
 phically the scene of Arthur's battles in the north, it
 would have been highly gratifying, if so able an anti-
 quary had extended his investigations, as to give us some
 further light on the scene of the fatal combat in which
 he fell, which is generally thought to be in the West of
 England, because the monarch was interred at Glaston-
 bury. I have ventured a conjecture that *Cadwallon* was
 in the north, as the battle was fought with Modred,
 whose territory was in Cumberland: and wherever the
 hero fell, although his remains might, in the first in-
 stance, have been deposited near the spot, they may
 subsequently have been removed to the sacred and ve-
 nerable Glastonbury.

FINIS.





